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A N
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E V O L U T I O N S

That happened in the

ROMAN REPUBLIC.



AN
HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTIONS
That happened in the
GOVERNMENT
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

Written in French by the ABBOT DE VERTOT, of
The Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

Translated into English, in Two Volumes, by Mr. OZELL.

To which is prefixed

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STANHOPE, to the Abbot DE VERTOT at Paris; containing
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Senate. With the ABBOT'S Answer.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTIONS
THAT

Happened in the Government of the
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

B O O K VIII.

L. Manlius is accused before the Assembly of the People, of giving hard Usage to T. Manlius his Son. A bold Action of Titus to bring his Father off. He kills a Gaul of an extraordinary Stature, and is surnamed Torquatus. Valerius Corvus: Why so called. The Samnites declare War against the Romans; which concludes to the Advantage of these Latter. The first War between the Carthaginians and the Romans. After various Success on each Side, the Carthaginians are obliged to beg Peace; which they obtained not, but upon very hard Conditions. They repair their Losses and renew the War. Hannibal passes into Italy, and reduces Rome to the very Point of Destruction. He is obliged to return into Africa to defend his own Country. Scipio cuts his Army to Pieces and takes Carthage. The Roman Conquests in Greece and Asia. The Tribuneship of Tiberius Gracchus full of Troubles. The Death of that Tribune.

THE Republic enjoyed a profound Peace both at Home and Abroad; and the People look'd upon the Consulship they had just obtained as a Victory which they had won over the Senate and the Patricians. But their Tribunes, who had no Way to make themselves considerable, but by

*New Pre-
tensions of
the Tri-
bunes.*

new Dissentions, complained, that for one *Curule* Dignity, which the *Patricians* had granted to the People, they had got three new Magistracies for themselves; that the Dignity of *Prætor* had been created on purpose to make them Masters of the Administration of Justice; that they had two *Curule Ædiles*, whose Authority quite annihilated that of the *Plebeian Ædiles*. Therefore they demanded, that all the Offices and Dignities of the State might be equally common to the Nobles and the People; that Merit alone should give the Preference in all Elections; and that, without Distinction of Rank or Birth, it might be lawful to chuse indifferently either *Plebeians* or *Patricians* to fill the civil Posts, and even those of the Priesthood itself. This was the common Topick of the Discourses with which these turbulent Tribunes entertained the Multitude in their Assemblies. They forgot no Elogiums that might make the least Actions of the *Plebeians* seem great and glorious, at the same Time that they endeavoured to weaken and detract from the greatest Services of the Nobility. They even applied themselves to get Intelligence of what passed in their private Families, upon which they raised spiteful and exaggerated Reports, in order to make them contemptible.

*L. Man-
lius ac-
cused.
Year of
Rome,
391.*

It was with this Design, that under the Consulship of *Q. Servilius Ahala*, and *Lucius Genutius*, a Tribune of the People called *M. Pomponius*, cited *L. MANLIUS*, who was but just out of his Dictatorship, under Pretence that this *Patrician* used one of his Sons with too much Severity. This Son of *MANLIUS*, named *Titus*, was born a Stammerer: And as in his Childhood he gave no Proofs of any great Capacity, his Father had confined him to one of his Country-Houses, where he was employed in Tillage, and other Works of Agriculture; as was practised even yet among the *Romans*. Nevertheless *Pomponius* made it a Crime in *MAN-*

LIUS,



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LIUS, who besides was disagreeable to the People for the Severity he had exercised in the Magistracies and in the Armies. The Affair was prosecuted so vigorously, that nobody doubted he would be condemned to pay a considerable Fine.

Titus MANLIUS hearing of the Danger his Father *Delivered* was in upon his Account, departs from his Village *by his Son* early in the Morning all alone; goes to *Rome*, and comes to the Door of the Tribune, who was not yet up. He sends him Word, that the Son of MANLIUS desired to speak to him about an Affair that would admit of no Delay. The Tribune, fully persuaded, that he came either to thank him for taking his Part, or else perhaps to discover to him some new Proofs of his Father's Severity, ordered him to be brought in. MANLIUS, after having saluted him, begged Leave to talk with him in private. The Tribune's Servants immediately retired by his Order. Then the young Man clapped a Dagger to his Throat, and threatened to kill him if he did not bind himself by the most solemn Oaths, to desist from the Prosecution he had begun against his Father. The Tribune affrighted, swore any Thing that he would have him: But he was no sooner rid of so troublesome a Guest, but he went to the Assembly of the People to complain of this Insult, and demanded to be absolved from his Oath. The People, more generous, decreed otherwise: For the Sake of the Son, they forbid him to carry on his Action any further against the Father; and to reward his filial Piety, the young MANLIUS was appointed one of the Tribunes of the Legions: An Employment which the Generals disposed of before, but which the People afterwards took into their own Nomination.

T. MANLIUS was not long before he showed, by *New In-* remarkable Actions of Valour, how worthy he was *vasion of* of this Honour. The *Cis-Alpine Gauls* having again *the Gauls* taken Arms to revenge their Defeat, came and in-

Year of
Rome,
392.

camped three Miles from *Rome*, near one of the Bridges of the *Teveron*, under the Consulship of *L. Sulpitius*, and *C. Lucinius Stolo*, the same that, during his Tribuneship, had in Conjunction with *Sextius*, laboured so hard to procure the Consulate for the Order of *Plebeians*.

At the Report of the March of these formidable Enemies, they immediately named a Dictator; it was *T. Quintius Pennus*, who chose *Sergius Cornelius Maluginensis* for General of the Horse. The *Romans*, under the Command of these Generals, immediately advanced to the Banks of the *Teveron*: Nothing but the River parted them from the Enemy. A *Gaul*, of an enormous Size, and who looked more like a Giant than an ordinary Man, advanced upon the Bridge, and challenged the bravest of the *Romans*. His big Limbs intimidated the stoutest. *Manlius* alone thought he had now found a Danger worthy his Valour; he asked Leave of his General to fight the *Gaul*: "I am in hopes, says he, to show this *Barbarian*, that I come of a Family fatal to his Nation, and of which the Chief precipitated the *Gauls* from the Top of the Capitol." Go, says the Dictator; and be as courageous for the Glory of thy Country, as thou wast for the Defence of thy Father. The two Champions were not long before they engaged; and *Titus Manlius* joining Art to Valour, slew his Enemy, and took from him a Gold Chain that he wore about his Neck, and put it about his own, as a Monument of his Victory. This got him the Sirname of *Torquatus*, which afterwards descended to his Posterity. The Success of this single Combat appeared to the *Gauls* to be so ill an Omen of the whole Course of the War, that they abandoned their Camp in the Night, and retired with all the Haste they could make.

Some Years afterwards a new Army of *Gauls* over-run the Territories of the *Romans*. *L. Furius Camillus*,

Combat
between
T. Manlius
and a
Gaul.
Liv. 1. 7.
Oros. 1. 3.
c. 5.
Florus, 1.
1. c. 13.

Camillus, the Consul, Son of the Dictator, march-^{Year of}ed against them; and *M. VALERIUS* had the same ^{Rome,} Advantage as *MANLIUS* over another *Gaul*, whom ^{404.}that *Roman* vanquished in single Combat. It is ^{Combat}said, that a Raven which perched upon his Hel- ^{between}met during the Fight, contributed with his Beak ^{M. Vale-}and Claws to the Defeat of his Adversary, which ^{rius and a}gave the Name of *Corvus* to *Valerius*, and to his ^{Gaul.}Descendants that of *Corvinus*. But without dwell ^{Liv. 1. 7.}ing upon the Miracle of this Event, we shall only ^{Gell. 1. 9.}observe, that in this second War, the single Fight ^{c. 11.}was followed by a general Battle, and with the same ^{Val. Max.}Success; the *Gauls* were defeated, and those that ^{1. 3. c. 2.}escaped left the *Roman* Dominions, and were some Time before they returned again.

This was not the only Nation jealous of the ^{Ambition}Power and Conquests of the *Romans*; all those ^{and Policy}petty States, which under different Names inha- ^{of Rome.}bited *Latium* and *Tuscany*, were almost continually at War with them. The *Samnites* afterwards declared against them; and the *Romans* could never have subdued them all, if they had not found a Way to sow Division among them. But to keep those People, that were nearest *Rome*, firm to its Interest, they flattered them with the Title of Allies of the *Roman* Nation; and when they had made themselves Masters of the more distant Countries, those who had suffered themselves to be lulled asleep with this Name of Allies, found themselves involved in their Conquests; and then, though they retained that Name, they were treated as Subjects. They durst not make War, without the Consent of the Senate, and were obliged to furnish their Contingent of Troops to assist the *Romans* in extending their Empire and Dominion. Such was the Conduct of these artful Politicians; we may find in the Progress of their Arms, the Fruits of a Scheme of Ambition very well laid; and what is most singular, is, that these eternal De-

Year of
Rome,
303.
War with
the Her-
nici.

enders of Liberty were themselves the Oppressors of the natural Right of Men, and the Tyrants of all *Italy*. The *Hernici*, who had been almost a whole Age in their Dependence, first undertook to withdraw themselves from it. All, even the old Men, took Arms to recover their Liberty. *Genu- tius*, the *Plebeian* Consul, was sent against them. This was the first of that Order that ever had the Command of an Army. The *Patricians* and *Ple- beians*, out of different Motives, impatiently ex- pected what would be the Success of this War. Liv. 1. 7. *Genu- tius* fell into an Ambush, where he was slain, Orof. 1. 3. and most of his Troops cut to Pieces. c. 5.

The *Patricians* taking Advantage of this Defeat of the *Plebeian* Consul, to mortify the *Tribunes*, and lessen their Credit, reproach'd the People, that the Gods had at length severely revenged the Prophanation of their *Auspices*, and punish'd a Man who presumed upon an unjust Law, to appropriate them to himself like a *Patrician*.

Appius
Claudius,
Dictator.

The People and their *Tribunes*, confounded and abashed, made no Reply. They were forced in this Misfortune to have Recourse to a Dictator. The Nobility procured that Office for *Appius Claudius*, the Grandson of the *Decemvir*, the Man of all the *Patricians*, most jealous of the Privileges of his Birth, and the Prerogatives of his Order. He immediately raised a new Army, marched against the Enemy, and after a sharp and bloody Fight, gained a glorious Victory. I omit the several little Battles that were afterwards fought against the *Privermates*, the *Falisci*, the *Tarquinians*, and the *Veliterni*. All these Nations did not so much make War as Incursions upon the *Romans*. If they were beaten, either they begged Peace, or else shut themselves up in their Towns, without daring to appear in the Field again. The *Tuscans* afterwards arose in their Place, and came next up- on the Stage. They were, as we said before, a League

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League or Community of twelve Nations, or twelve petty States, whose Power however was not inconsiderable, when their Forces were united. This War seemed of Importance enough to be committed to the Conduct of a Dictator; and notwithstanding all the Struggles of the Senate and *Patricians*, *C. Martius RUTILUS*, tho' a *Plebeian*, was nominated to that Dignity. He chose for his General of the Horse another *Plebeian*, named *C. Plautius*.

A Plebeian Dictator. Liv. i. Diod. Li. 16. Year of Rome, 397.

The Senate, who had not been able to hinder the Election of a *Plebeian* Dictator, forgot no Means to cross his Preparations, and to disable him from acquiring any Glory. The People, with a contrary View, ran with the greatest Alacrity to list themselves under his Banners: He quickly had raised a powerful Army; and as he was both a Soldier and a Captain, he defeated the *Tuscans*, cut their Army to Pieces, took eight thousand Prisoners, and at his Return, in spite of the Senate's Opposition, obtained the Honours of a Triumph. Thus the People by Degrees got a Share with the Nobility, in all the Honours and Dignities of the Republic. They were already in Possession of the *Curule Ædility*, though Historians do not mention the Names of the two first *Plebeians* that were invested with it. *Philo*, another *Plebeian*, some Time afterwards arrived at the Prætorship; and the *Martius* we just now spoke of, raised himself by his Courage and Virtue, even to the Dignity of Censor. After this Time, though the Distinction between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* yet subsisted, it was not so much Birth as the *Curule Dignities* that gave Nobility; and in the Course of this History we shall see *Plebeians* reckoned among the Chief and most Noble of the Republic, because they descended from Ancestors that had enjoyed those *Curule Dignities*.

A Plebeian Censor.

The *Romans*, after having triumph'd over the *Sibines*, the *Tuscans*, the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, the

War a- *Æqui*, the *Volsci*, and all their petty Neighbours,
 gainst the turned their Arms against the *Samnites*, who in-
 Samnites. habited that Part of *Italy*, which is now called
 Year of *Abruzzo*; a fierce and warlike Nation, who
 Rome, yielded to the *Romans* neither in Valour nor
 419. Military Discipline, and who, like *Rome*, had
 Subjects and Allies, who followed their For-
 tune.

Between two equal Powers bordering upon each other, it is needless to look for any other Cause of War, but mutual Jealousy and Competition. Thus the Subject, or, to speak more properly, the Pretence of this Rupture was, that the *Samnites* undertook to subdue the *Sidicini* and the *Capuans*; and that the *Romans*, who were not for having the *Samnites* so powerful, opposed their Conquests.

The War began by the *Sidicini*, a little State, of which the *Samnites* endeavoured to make themselves Masters. The *Sidicini* had Recourse to those of *Capua*, who undertook their Defence with more Ostentation than Power. The *Capuans* indeed possessed a very fruitful Country, and Commerce every Day added to their Riches. But this Wealth of private Persons was the Weakness of the State. The Houses were magnificent; the City without Fortifications. Luxury reigned throughout; the Purse-proud Merchant mistook his Vanity for Courage, and look'd with Contempt upon Enemies that were not so rich as he.

This Presumption, and indiscreet Contempt of their Enemies Strength, was the Occasion of their Ruin. The *Samnites*, who had a Prospect of more Glory and Advantage in the Conquest of them than of the *Sidicini*, turned their Arms against them. It soon came to a Battle; the *Capuans* were defeated in two great Conflicts, in which they lost all their Youth; and the Conquerors, who had no Obstacle now left in their Way, marched on to a
 City

City which had no Defence but weak Walls, and Inhabitants filled with Consternation.

The Magistrates in this Distress applied themselves to *Rome*. They sent a celebrated Embassy to implore the Alliance and Succour of the *Romans*. Their Ambassadors laid before the Senate all the Motives, either of Glory or of Interest, that could engage the Republic to take them into their Protection, the Extremity to which they were reduced, and the Power of their Enemies, which would grow yet far more considerable, by the Conquest of a City so rich as *Capua*. Such, added those Ambassadors, is the *Wretchedness of our present Condition, that if we are not instantly relieved by our Friends, we must fall into the Hands of our Enemies. If you defend us, you will gain yourselves Allies, that will ever after look upon you as the Restorers of their State, and the second Founders of their City. If you abandon us, Capua is no more, or at best becomes subject to the Samnites.* *The Capu-ans send Ambassadors to Rome.* Livy, l. 7.

The Senate were no strangers to these Considerations; but as their Design was to get a more solid and real Advantage from the Assistance of their Arms, than a vain Title, and empty Praises, they barely answered the Ambassadors by the Mouth of the Consul, that their present Condition seemed worthy of Pity, and the *Romans* wished they could with Honour succour them; but that the Republic had an antient Alliance with the *Samnites*, which would not allow them to make a new one with their Enemies; that the Senate however would send Deputies to the Camp of the *Samnites*, to interpose in their Behalf, and to endeavour to procure them a Treaty of Peace, upon Conditions as easy as possible.

The Chief of the Embassy, who was let into the Secret of it, found he must make more advantageous Proposals, before they should induce the Senate to undertake the Defence of *Capua*. The Magistrates,

gisistrates, who, before his Departure, too well perceived that all that was now left them, was at most the Choice of their Masters, being inclinable rather to submit to Strangers, than to be subject to their Neighbours, had ordered this Ambassador, that if he could not obtain them the Quality of Allies to *Rome*, he should rather make them its Subjects, than suffer *Capua* to fall into the Power of the *Samnites*. He therefore made Answer to the Consul, that though the *Romans* would grant them nothing as Allies, he hoped however the Senate would not let the *Samnites* possess themselves of a City and Country, which he was charged to put under their Dominion. “In Consequence of which,” added that Ambassador, “we now give you, and subject to your Laws, the City of *Capua*, our Country, Dominions, Temples, and Persons. We acknowledge you our Sovereigns, and protest, in the Presence of Gods and Men, that we will preserve an inviolable Fidelity to you.”

Capua given up to the Romans.

The Senate having brought the Negotiation to the desired Point, solemnly accepted of the Donation of *Capua*: And as they were always willing to have Justice of their Side, or at least the Appearances of that Virtue, they sent Ambassadors to the *Samnites*, to inform them of this Treaty; and at the same Time to desire them, in virtue of their ancient Alliance, to withdraw their Army out of a Country that belonged to the *Roman* People.

The *Samnites*, enraged that they should thus pretend to put a Stop to the Progress of their Arms, and to snatch the City of *Capua* almost out of their very Hands, cried out against this Treaty as a mere Trick. Their Magistrates with Indignation rejected the Proposal of the *Roman* Ambassadors, and when they went out of the Council, gave Orders to their General in their Presence to destroy all before him in the Territory of *Capua*, with

with Fire and Sword. This was a very plain Explication of their Minds. Accordingly these new *Year of* Hostilities were followed by a Declaration of War *Rome,* between the two Nations. The Senate gave the ^{410.} Conduct of it to *M. Valerius Corvus*, and *A. Cornelius Cossus*. This War began the four hundred and eleventh Year from the Foundation of *Rome*. It *Import-* was pushed on, through the whole Course of it, *ance of the* with equal Animosity on both Sides; and, though *War with* sometimes interrupted with short Truces, it still be- *the Sam-* gan again with the same Fury. The *Cis-Alpine Gauls*, the *Tuscan*s, the *Tarentines*, the *Latins*, and even the *Greeks* and *Africans*, took Part in it. *Pyrrhus*, *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, the greatest Captain of his Age, *in Italy.* crossed the Sea in Favour of the *Tarentines*: And the *Carthaginians*, who now began to get Footing in *Sicily*, and aimed at the total Subjection of it, sent them divers Succours to put a Stop to the *Roman* Conquests. It was a Flame that by Degrees spread all over *Italy*, and which was not quenched without whole Streams of Blood. Many great Battles were fought, and with various Success. The *Romans*, at first Victors, but afterwards vanquished, but never discouraged, took Arms again with fresh Obstinacy; being indifferent, and, as it were, unconcern'd at their own Defeat. Such a Thing as Flight was not known in their Armies. The Soldier was resolved to conquer or die; and more *Romans* were punished for having fought without Orders, than for having given Ground, or quitted their Posts. At length, after almost a continual War for above threescore and ten Years, the Courage of the *Romans*, and the heroic Valour that appeared in the common Soldiers, as well as in the Officers; their Patience in Labours; their military Discipline; but above all the Love of their Country, gave them a compleat Triumph over their Enemies. The Nation of the *Samnites* was almost destroyed: *Pyrrhus* was drove out of *Italy*: *Tarentum* was taken, and its Walls *Taren-* demolished. *tum taken.*

Year of
Rome,
417.

demolished. And *L. Furius Camillus*, Consul, giving the Senate an Account of the Extremity to which he reduced the *Latins*: *The Gods*, says he to the Senators, *have made you so powerful, that it now depends on your Will, whether Latium shall be any more.*

*The Great
sees all.*

The *Romans* granted not Peace to the vanquished Nations, but on very hard Conditions. The Senate, according to their usual Politics, took from each a Part of their Territories. But this Policy being carried too far, ruined the Country, and afterwards occasioned, even in *Rome* it self, very dangerous Seditions. The Great, by a mutual Connivance, appropriated to themselves Part of those Lands. Their Possessions by Degrees grew to be petty States, which they peopled with the infinite Number of Slaves, they had made in so long a War: And the original Husbandmen being despoiled of their Inheritance, deserted a Country where they could no longer subsist.

The *People*, and their *Tribunes*, renewed their Complaints against an Abuse almost as ancient as the Constitution of the Republic. They endeavoured to revive the Regulation of *LICINIUS*, and the Decree that fixed the Possessions of every *Roman* Citizen to five hundred Acres at most; but the Laws were not heard amidst the Noise of Arms. There were then so many, both *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, Infractioners of this Law, that it was in vain to hope to reform them. The Attempt had certainly been without Success; being joint Accomplices in the same Usurpation, and all at the Head of Armies, or in the chief Posts of the Commonwealth; nothing could withstand their Power; and the Wars that soon after happened with the *Carthaginians*, left them no Leisure to take Care of new Regulations at Home.

Hitherto we have seen the Arms of the Republic employed only in the Continent of *Italy*.

The Romans were almost five hundred Years before they could subdue the *Latins*, the *Tuscons*, the *Sammites* and their Allies. But they had no sooner fixed their Dominion in those great Provinces, that stretch quite from the *Rubicon* to the furthest Extremity of *Italy*, but they thought of passing the *The Ro-* Sea. The Succour given by the *Carthaginians* to ^{mans cross} the *Tarentines* was the Pretence; but the Conquest ^{the Sea.} of *Sicily*, the true Cause. *Rome* and *Carthage* bent their whole Forces against each other. The Neighbourhood and Jealousy of these two great Commonwealths, bred between them a most bloody War, of which *Sicily* was the first Stage. This War afterwards was carried into *Africa*, from whence it extended into *Spain* and *Italy*. We shall relate the various Events of it but very concisely, that we may not wander too far from the principal Subject of this Work.

Carthage, a Colony of the *Phœnicians*, was built ^{Origin of} upon the Coast of *Africa*, near the Place where the ^{Carthage.} City of *Tunis* now stands, about a hundred and thirty-seven Years before the Foundation of *Rome*. *Lybia* acknowledged her Empire. She always maintained strong Fleets, which made her Mistress of the Sea and Commerce, and which had extended her Dominion quite to the Coasts of *Spain*, and in the Islands of *Sicily*, *Corfica*, and *Sardinia*.

All her Citizens were Merchants. A continual ^{Compari-} Traffick had acquired them such great Riches, ^{son be-} that they despised the Profession of Arms. If they ^{etween} happened to be engaged in a War, they bought ^{Rome and} Troops, and were often forced to hire their very ^{Carthage.} Generals. This trading Republic thought their Money was every Thing. *Rome*, on the contrary, nursed in her Bosom a hardy Militia. All her Citizens were Soldiers; not a Man was exempted from going to the War; the Foot-Soldier was obliged to serve twenty Years, and the Horseman
ten,

Ten, before he could get his Discharge; and very few ever solicited for it. Whenever there was Occasion to march to the Field, you might have seen the *Veteran* offering himself with the same Ardor as the youngest, and all resolved either to conquer or die.

Appius
crosses the
Sea the
first.
Year of
Rome,
489.
Polyb.
L. 1.
Zonarus,
L. 2.

Such was the State of these two Republics, when the War between them broke out. The Power of the one lay in her Legions and Land Forces; and the other was no less formidable in her Fleets and naval Armies. The *Romans*, shut up in the Continent of *Italy*, had no Experience in marine Affairs. *Appius Claudius*, Consul, Son of the Dictator, whom we just now spoke of, and Brother of *Appius Claudius*, the Blind, was the first that, by the Help of a few Floats, transported Troops into *Sicily*; which gave him the Name of *Caudex*, as having found out the Art of fastening Planks together to make Transports. These Floats quickly came to be Ships and Gallies, among a People diligent, ingenious, and not to be discouraged by Labour, who improved by every Thing, and learnt of their very Enemies, the Art and Means of conquering them. A *Carthaginian* Galley, drove by Stress of Weather upon the Coast of *Italy*, served the *Romans* for a Model to build the like. They laboured at their new Invention with so much Eagerness that, in two Months Time, *Duillius* put to Sea a Fleet, which defeated that of the *Carthaginians*. The Joy which *Rome* conceived at this first naval Victory, made them, in Order to preserve the Memory of it, give a kind of Perpetuity to the Conqueror's Triumph; and *Duillius*, with the Consent of the Senate, every Time that he returned from feasting with his Friends for the Remainder of his Life, was brought Home with Flambeaux, and with the Sound of Flutes.

Cic. de
Senectute
Val. Max.
L. 3. C.
6. Flo. 1.
2. Polyb.
Year of
Rome,
493.

We

We shall not dwell upon the Consequences of ^{First} this War, which are not to our Subject, nor upon ^{Punic} the Battles and Sieges that happened in *Sicily*: It ^{War.} is enough to observe, that the *Romans* having made themselves Masters of *Agrigentum*, and of the chief Towns in that Island; that having taken *Aleria*, the Capital of *Corsica*, and *Olbia* in *Sardinia*, they carried the War, and the Terror of their Arms, to the very Gates of *Carthage*.

L. Manlius, and *Q. Ceditius*, Consuls, were in- ^{Victories} trusted with the Care of this Expedition; but *Ce-* ^{of Man-} *ditius* dying in his Consulate, he was succeeded by ^{lius and} *M. Attilus Regulus*, a Consular Person, and a ^{of Attilus} great Captain, austere in his Manners, as strict ^{Regulus} over himself as over others, and that still retained ^{over Car-} the Temperance and Disinterestedness of the first ^{thage.} *Roman*.

These two Generals set sail with a Fleet of ^{Year of} three Hundred and forty Ships, with a Hundred ^{Rome.} and forty Thousand Land Forces. The *Carthagi-* ^{497.} *nians* sent against them a Fleet as numerous, composed of lighter Ships, and that were better Sailors. But the *Carthaginian* Soldier was far from equalling the *Roman* in Valour. The Fight was long and obstinate, and Fortune more than once went over from one Side to the other. While rather the Ships fought than the Men, the *Carthaginians* got the better by their Skill and Experience; but the *Romans*, whose Ships were clumsily built, heavy and unmanageable, having grappled with those of the *Carthaginians*, they began to fight Foot to Foot, and as it were on firm Land. Then the Valour of the *Romans*, who fought in the Presence of their Consuls, prevailed over Strangers and Auxiliary Troops, who make War as they would drive a Trade, only for their Bread, without Desire of Glory, or Zeal for the Cause they serve. The *Carthaginian* Fleet dispersed in Flight, and left the Passage free to the *Romans*, who landing upon

upon the Coast of *Africa*, took the Town *Clupea* at the first Onset, and afterwards ravaged the Enemies Country, from whence they brought off twenty thousand Captives.

Polyb. L. The Consuls sent Advice to *Rome* of this Victory, and desired new Orders. The Senate returned Answer, that they would have *Manlius* bring back Part of the Fleet to *Italy*, to defend the Conquests in *Sicily*, and that *Regulus* should carry on the War in *Africa*. The Time of his Consulate being expired, he was continued in the same Employment with the Title of Pro-Consul; but soon after he desired a Successor, and his Discharge, upon Information which he had received, that the Farmer who cultivated seven Acres of Land, which was this General's whole Inheritance, was dead, and that his Servant had stole his Utensils of Tillage. *Regulus* represented to the Senate in his Letter, that his Wife and Children were in Danger of starving, if he himself did not come to repair the State of his Affairs by his own Presence and Labour. The Senate, that they might not interrupt the Course of *Regulus's* Victories, decreed that his Wife and Children should be provided with Necessaries, and his Land cultivated at the Publick Charge, and that new Instruments should be bought for the Tillage of it: A very small Reward if we look to the Value; but more honourable to the Memory of that virtuous *Roman*, than all those pompous Titles, with which we daily varnish the Possessions of those Upstarts, that enriched themselves only by Rapine, and whose Names will be known to Posterity, only by the Calamities which their Avarice occasioned in the Countries where they made War.

Manlius brought back to the Coast of *Italy* Part of the Fleet laden with Booty, and seven and twenty Thousand Prisoners. *Regulus*, on his Side, having received the Orders of the Senate, went on

on with his Conquests. The *Carthaginians* were resolved to put a stop to them; they ventured a Battle, wherein they were defeated, and lost their best Troops. This new Victory finished the throwing the whole Country into a Consternation; above fourscore Places surrendered to the *Romans*. The *Numidians*, the antient Subjects of *Carthage*, rose at the same Time, and plundered the Country; and the Peasants, who fled every where from their Habitations, flung themselves into *Carthage*, where, by their Numbers and extreme Want, they quickly brought Famine and Contagion.

The *Carthaginians*, who had no Leaders nor Generals among themselves of sufficient Experience, to be opposed to *REGULUS*, sent as far as *Lacedæmon*, to offer the Command of their Armies to *Xanthippus*, a Captain famous in his own Country, and throughout all *Greece*; and at the same Time they dispatched the principal Men of their Senate to demand Peace of *REGULUS*. This General, who would have been very glad to have returned to *Rome*, with the Glory of having put an End to this War, did not refuse to enter into Negotiation. But as he held *Carthage* invested by different Bodies of his Troops, which were Masters of all the Posts round it, and there was no Army on Foot able to oblige him to raise the Siege; he expected to prescribe the Terms of the Treaty, and demanded that the *Carthaginians* should put into his Hands the Places they still possessed in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; that they should freely restore the Prisoners they had taken; and that, besides paying a Ransom for their Countrymen, they should defray the Charges of the War, and subject themselves to an Annual Tribute. *REGULUS* further insisted, that the *Carthaginians* should not make either War or Alliance, without the Participation of the Senate; that they should have but on single great Ship; and that whenever they received Orders from

*Regulus
defeats the
Carthaginians.*

*Carthage
sends for
succour as
far as La-
cedæmon.*

*Carthage
invested,
asks Peace.*

Rome, they should be obliged to sent fifty Gallies, compleatly equipped for War, to serve wherever the Interest of the Republic should make it requisite.

Regulus
worsted
and taken.

Year of
Rome,
498.

The Deputies of *Carthage* represented to the Roman General the Hardness of these Conditions: But *REGULUS*, who thought himself Master of the Country, answered haughtily, *That Enemies must either conquer, or submit to the Law of the Conqueror.* They parted without concluding upon any thing; and the *Carthaginian* Magistrates, enrag'd that the *Romans* should endeavour to impose such Conditions upon them, as must reduce them to little less than Slavery, caused all the Inhabitants to take Arms. *Xantippus*, the *Lacedæmonian*, arrived about the same time; put himself at their Head; and having rallied what Troops they had left, marched out into the open Field, and offer'd Battle to the *Romans*. He chose out for his Camp a Plain, where the Elephants he had in his Army might have an Opportunity of fighting, and more advantageous to the Cavalry, wherein he exceeded the *Romans*. *REGULUS*, in the same Policy, and as being the stronger in Infantry, ought to have kept to the Mountains and Heights; but his Soldiers despising the *Greek* General, and Troops which they had so often vanquished, demanded the Fight with great Shouts. *REGULUS* had not Power to restrain them; the Battle was fought in the Plain; he was defeated; his Foot could not withstand the Enemies Horse. The *Romans* lost above thirty thousand Men of their own Nation and Allies; and the General himself was made Prisoner. The *Carthaginians* treated him very roughly, and more like a Criminal, than a Prisoner of War. They loaded him with Chains, and buried him in a Dungeon, where he was kept almost four Years, where he must have perished; but the *Carthaginians* having in that Time lost several considerable

ble Battles both by Sea and Land, they took REGULUS out of his Prison to send him to *Rome*, to solicit a Peace, or at least an Exchange of Prisoners. The Magistrates, before they put him on Board, exacted a Promise from him, that, if he could obtain no Conditions of the *Romans*, he should come back to *Carthage*, and return to his Chains: It was further hinted to him, that his Life depended upon the Success of his Negotiation.

It was none of the Senate's Fault, that a Peace was not concluded, or at least the Exchange of Prisoners agreed to. That Body thought they could not purchase too dear the Liberty and Safety of such a Citizen as REGULUS. But the greatest Obstacle to the Conclusion of the Treaty, came from the very Man that was commissioned to negotiate it. REGULUS being arrived at *Rome*, laid before the Senate, that, by a little Constancy, and continuing the War, they would be sure to subdue the *Carthaginians*; that as to the Exchange of Prisoners, the whole Advantage would be on the Side of the Enemy, whose chief Officers, and best Soldiers, were detain'd at *Rome*; whereas the *Carthaginians* had but few *Romans*, and those, Men advanced in Years, or Cowards, from whom no Service could be expected. In a Word, this generous *Roman* argu'd so forcibly against his own Interest, that he made them resolve upon the Continuation of the War. And without entering his House, or seeing either his Wife or Children, for Fear of being soften'd by their Tears, he returned to *Carthage*, to dissengage his Word; he perish'd there in the most cruel Torments.

Zonaras.
App.
Alex. in
Lybicâ.
Gell. l. 6.
Val. Max.
l. 6. & 9. l.
Flor. Au-
tor de vi-
ris illust.
Year of
Rome,
506.

The two Nations again took up Arms with the same Animosity. The Success was various: At length two Sea-Fights, in which the *Romans* had the better, one under the Command of M. Fabius Buteo, Consul; and the other under that of C. Lu-

Year of
Rome,
511.

*The first
Peace
granted to
Carthage.*

tatius Catulus, forced the *Carthaginians* to sue for Peace again. *Rome* granted it; but *Rome*, inflexible, and sometimes even cruel to vanquish'd Enemies, gave them not Peace, but upon very hard Conditions. They were forced to deliver up to the *Romans* the Town and Port of *Lilibæum* in *Sicily*; to abandon that Island entirely; to restore all Prisoners without Ransom; to yield up all Deserters; to pay down a thousand Talents for the Charge of the War, and two thousand two hundred in ten Years, by Way of Tribute. The *Carthaginians*, quite exhausted, subscrib'd to any Thing, and the Treaty was concluded under the Consulate of *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius* in the 512th Year from the Foundation of *Rome*.

*Second Pu-
nic War.
App.
Alex. in
Lybicâ
Year of
Rome,
535.*

*Hanni-
bal's Cha-
racter.*

But it was not so much a Peace as a Truce. The *Carthaginians* being the weakest, struck it up only to gain Time to repair their Forces. They no sooner found themselves in a Condition to maintain a new War, but they took up Arms again with more Fury than ever. The Siege they laid to *Saguntum*, a Town in *Spain*, in Alliance with the *Romans*, was the Pretence of this War, and *HANNIBAL* the real Author of it. He was born a Soldier, and a continual Exercise of Arms made him a great Captain. It was in this War, that he gave such glorious Proofs of those superior Talents, which set him so much above the *Roman* Generals; always just in his *Schemes*; immense Views; an admirable Genius at hitting the true Time for the Execution of his Designs; the greatest Artifice in acting, without being discovered; infinite in Expedients; as skilful in recovering himself out of Danger, as in drawing others into it; for the rest, without Faith, without Religion, without Humanity, and yet having the Art to put on all the Appearances of these Virtues, as far as was subservient to his Interest.

Such

Such was the famous HANNIBAL, when he formed the boldest Project that ever Captain durst conceive, and which was justified by nothing but the Event. From the very remotest Part of *Spain*, resolved to carry the War into *Italy*, and to attack the *Romans* in the very Centre of their Dominions, without having there one strong Place, one Magazine, any certain Assistance, or the least Hopes of a Retreat, he marches quite through the Heart of *Spain* and *Gaul*, passes the *Alps*, and encamps boldly upon the very Banks of the *Tesin*. It was here that the first Battle was fought; the *Romans* were defeated, and the Consul, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, their General, must have fallen into the Hands of his Enemy, if his Son, *Publius Scipio*, had not flown to his Assistance. This young Man, who was but seventeen Years old, seeing his Father inclosed by a Body of the Enemy, broke his Way alone quite up to him, dispers'd with his Sword all that surrounded him, and brought him off, just as he was upon the Point of being taken or slain.

Hannibal goes into Italy.

Battle of the Tesin. Year of Rome, 535.

As the Particulars of this War are not to my Subject, I shall only observe, that the *Romans*, under the Command and Consulate of *Tiberius Sempronius*, *Scipio's* Colleague, lost a second Battle near the River *Trebia*. The Overthrow which *Flaminius* received near the Lake *Trafumenus*, was still greater; and the Defeat at *Canne* drove *Rome* to the very Brink of Destruction. The Republic lost fifty thousand Men; and the Conqueror sent to *Carthage* two Bushels of Gold Rings, to show the incredible Number of *Roman* Knights that were slain in this Battle. This Day had been (if I may so say) the last the *Romans* would ever have seen, if HANNIBAL had known as well how to make use of his Victory, as he knew how to obtain it. All he had to do, was to appear before the Gates of the City, and he had been Master of it without strik-

Year of Rome, 536.

Year of Rome, 537.

The Battles of Trebia, Trafumenus, and Canne.

Scipio
saves
Italy.

ing a Blow. The Consternation was general in Rome, and all the Parts adjacent. But the *Carthaginian* General, tho' one of his Officers assur'd him he might sup in the Capitol, suffered himself to be overcome by the Pleasures of *Capua*; pretending that he must give his Troops a little Repose, he staid in *Campania* after his Victory; and, as if he had been afraid of putting an End to the War too soon, or had acted in Concert with the *Romans*, he gave them Time to recover out of their Consternation. This small Interval was the first Step to their Preservation. The young *Scipio* had the Wisdom to take the Advantage of it, and he who had sav'd his Father's Life in the Battle of the *Tesin*, sav'd all *Italy* after the Battle of *Cannæ*.

He was then no more than a Tribune in a Legion; and the Evening after the Battle, he was retir'd with a great many other Officers into a Neighbouring Town, which still held for the *Romans*. *Scipio* was inform'd, that those Officers who were of the best Families in *Rome*, and the only Hope which the Republic had left, being assembled at the House of one *Metellus*, and despairing to save the Common-wealth, were resolv'd to embark at the first Port, and abandon *Italy*. So base a Thought stirr'd up his utmost Indignation; he resolv'd to oppose it, though with the Hazard of his Life; and turning to some other Officers that happened to be with him, *Let those*, says he, *who value the Safety of Rome, follow me*. He goes directly to the House where the aforesaid Council was held, enters, and drawing his Sword, "I swear," says he, "that I will never abandon the Republic, nor suffer any of her Citizens to do it." And then turning to the Master of the House, "You," says he, "and all that are here, shall take the same Oath, or not a Man shall escape my Sword." These Threats, the Fire and
Rage

Livy,

Dec. 3. 1.

2. c. 12.

Rage that flashed from his Eyes, his Zeal for his Country, his Courage, his Intrepidity, all these made them immediately come into the same Engagement. The very Shame of having been discovered in such a Design, recall'd their ancient Valour; they mutually gave each other their Faith, and vowed rather to be buried under the Ruins of their Country, than to desert her. Every Man dispersed the next Morning. Some repaired to *Rome* to defend it, if the Enemy should lay Siege to it; others laboured either to rally the Fugitives, or to raise new Levies about the Country. The Inhabitants of *Rome*, who expected every Moment to have seen HANNIBAL at their Gates, began to take Breath. The Senate gathered Courage; the meaner Sort of People shook off their Fear; and, though there was at *Rome* neither Men, nor Arms, nor Money, all these Defects were made up by that Love of their Country, which was the true Character of a *Roman*. Some freely gave their Slaves to serve as Soldiers; others strove who should first bring in what Gold or Silver they had; and they took down from the Roofs of the Temples old Arms, which had been hung up there as Trophies, and with these they armed Part of this new Militia.

The War began again with fresh Spirit. The Senate gave the Management of it to Q. FABIVS ^{*the Temper-*} MAXIMUS, who, by avoiding a Battle, hit upon the ^{*rier.*} true Way to conquer HANNIBAL. The General of the *Carthaginians* stood, as it were, in need of continual Success, to enable him to maintain himself in a Country so remote from his own, and where he was often without Money or Provisions, and where he could get no Supplies from *Africa*. His whole Reliance was upon the infinite Affection of his Soldiers, who perfectly adored him. One can never enough admire how in an Army, consisting of Soldiers picked up by chance, *Numidians, Spaniards, Gauls,*

and *Ligurians*, who often wanted Bread, the bare Presence of HANNIBAL should prevent the least Murmuring; and that all, without so much as understanding the Language of one another, should jointly conspire to give Success to their General's Designs.

But notwithstanding his great Capacity, he must at last give Way to the Conduct and Fortune of the *Romans*. They resumed over him the Superiority they had lost by the former Battles; he now learnt, that, in Affairs of War, there are some favourable and decisive Moments, which once lost, never return. And the young SCIPIO being become General, taught him, by severe Experience, that he was capable of being conquered.

Scipio Africanus.
Year of Rome,
541.
Liv. Dec.
3. 5.

His Father CORNELIUS P. SCIPIO, and *Cneius*, his Uncle, both perished in *Spain*, commanding the Armies of the Republic. By the Death of these two Brothers, *Spain* had been entirely lost from the *Romans*, if an ordinary Knight, *L. Martius*, had not rallied the Fugitives, and defeated one of the two *Asdrubals*, who commanded the *Carthaginian* Army in those Provinces: Nevertheless Nobody at *Rome* cared to put up for the Conduct of the War, in a Country where the Enemy was yet so much the stronger. The young SCIPIO, though scarce four and twenty Years old, offered himself, thinking it was his only Business to revenge the Death of his Father and Uncle. He was sent thither with the Title of Pro-consul; he beat the Enemies Generals upon several Occasions, and five Years after his Arrival, there was not a *Carthaginian* left in *Spain*.

Livy.

Year of Rome,
542.
Polyb. l.
19.

Scipio
passes over
to Africa.

From thence he passed over to *Africa*, almost contrary to the Will of the Senate; and as his Undertaking seemed rash and presumptuous, the Republic at first would not supply him either with Troops or Money. His Reputation, Valour, and Affability, procured him Soldiers. They strove who

who should first lift himself under so great a Captain; he was soon at the Head of a considerable Army. He was a Second *Hannibal*; he had all his Virtues without his Faults. He landed in *Africa*, while the *Carthaginians* were continuing the War in *Italy*.

He first gained over to the Side of the Republic, the two Kings, *Syphax* and *Massinissa*. The former afterwards changed his Party; he was defeated in a Bloody Battle, together with *Asdrubal*, General of the *Carthaginians*, and had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of *Lelius* the Wife, as *Cicero* calls that Officer, who was the intimate Friend, and one of the Lieutenants of *Scipio*. Year of Rome, 551. Cic. Offic. 2. in Orat. pro Arch. & pro Munat. renâ.

I shall not dwell upon the Course of this War. *Scipio*, after having gained a second Victory over the *Carthaginians*, gave them in their Turn, Apprehensions of seeing him before their Walls. *Hannibal* was recalled to the Assistance of his Country, and returned to *Africa* the sixteenth Year of this War. At first there was some Talk of Peace; nay, there was an Interview between *Scipio* and *Hannibal*; but not coming to an Agreement, it plainly appeared that the Sword alone must decide the Pretensions of the two Republics.

The Armies soon met; the Battle was fought near *Zama*. The Dispute was for Empire and Liberty. Both Generals upon this Occasion employed their utmost Capacity in taking Advantage of the Disposition of the Ground, and ordering their Troops for Battle. The Soldiers on their Parts, fought like Men that were animated with the Spirit and Courage of those two great Leaders. The Success was long doubtful; at length the Victory remained with *Scipio*. The *Carthaginians* lost twenty thousand Men, slain upon the Spot, and as many were made Prisoners of War.

Peace

*Second
Peace
granted to
Carthage.
Year of
Rome,
552.*

*Polyb. L.
15. App.
Alex. Zo-
naras.*

Peace was the Fruit of this Victory. The *Carthaginians* having quite spent their Strength, sued for it with the Consent even of *HANNIBAL* himself. The *Romans* did not grant it without such Conditions which might be looked upon as a second Victory. They stripped the *Carthaginians* of their Fleets, and their Elephants; they were forced to restore the Prisoners of War, and to deliver up the Deserters: immense Sums were also exacted from them: and, which they thought still more rigorous, they were forbid to send Ambassadors, to make any Alliance, or the least Armament, without the Knowledge, and express Permission of the Senate.

*Third Pu-
nic War.*

*Carthage
destroy'd.
Year of
Rome,
607.
Ap. Alex.
in Lyb.
Strabo L.
ultim.*

So strict and mortifying a Dependance did not yet satisfy the Ambition of the *Romans*. *Carthage*, yet in Being, daily recalled the Memory of the Battles of *Trafimenus* and *Cannæ*. *Rome* resolved to destroy an Object that gave them such disagreeable Reflections. This was the Cause of the third *Punic War*. The young *Scipio*, Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, and who was adopted by *Scipio*, the Son of *Africanus*, entirely ruined that stately City, which had presumed to dispute the Empire of the World with *Rome*. The Inhabitants were dispersed into several Parts, and *Carthage* was nothing now but a vain Name.

*Conquests
of the Ro-
mans in
the East
and West.*

This City subdued, and then ruined, lifted up the Hearts of the *Romans*. Those who a few Years before had fought for the Defence of *Rome*, now aspired to the Conquest of the whole World. They carried their Arms into the *East* and *West*. *Antiochus* the Great, who reigned over the better Part of *Asia*, was defeated, and constrained to retire to the other Side of Mount *Taurus*. The *Insubrians* and the *Ligurians* were conquered: *Macedon*, after various Wars, which it is not my Business to treat of here, was reduc'd into a Province, as well as *Illyrium*. And the *Greeks* endeavouring to with-
draw

draw themselves from the Dependence of the *Achaens*, fell under the Dominion of the *Romans*, who, in less than one Century, extended their Conquests over the three Parts of our Continent. All *Italy*, all *Spain*, *Illyrium*, quite to the *Danube*, *Africa*, *Greece*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Syria*, all the Kingdoms of *Asia Minor*, were Members of this vast Empire; and the *Romans* struck the Terror of their Arms, and the Respect of their Power, into the most barbarous Nations.

The Luxury of the *East* came to *Rome* with the Spoils of those great Provinces. To maintain it, they began to make Interest for the Offices of the Republic, the Profits of which increased with the Empire; the Manners of the *Romans* received a Change with their Fortune, and one would think it was another Nation that is now going to appear upon the Stage. We shall find indeed among them more Skill in the Art of War, Generals of more Capacity, and Armies almost invincible; all these managed by a Policy steady, provident, and always consistent with itself: But then we shall find less Equity in their Counsels. The Pleasure of Conquest and Dominion soon corrupted that exact Probity, formerly so esteemed in the *Romans* by their very Enemies. Ambition took the Place of Justice in their Undertakings; a sordid Avarice, and private Regards succeeded the Care of the Public Good: Love of their Country was turned into an Adherence to Leaders of Factions. In a Word, Victory, Peace, and Plenty, destroyed that Concord between the Great and the People, which the Employment given them by the *Punic Wars* had before maintained. And the two *Gracchi*, by renewing Proposals, just in all Appearance, but not at all convenient in the present State of the Republic, kindled the first Sparks of the Civil Wars we are now going to speak of.

*Seditions
of the
Gracchi.*

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, and CAIUS GRACCHUS, were Sons of TIBERIUS SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, a Consular Person, a great Captain, and who had been honoured with two Triumphs; but one that was yet more illustrious for the Excellency of his Manners, and his perfect Disinterestedness: Virtues which now began to be remarkable, as being less common than formerly among the *Romans*. The *Sempronian* Family, though *Plebeian*, was one of the greatest Distinction in the Common-wealth, since the People had been admitted indifferently with the Nobles into the first Dignities of the State.

The Mother of the *Gracchi*, named *Cornelia*, was Daughter of the great SCIPIO. TIBERIUS, her eldest Son, was married to the Daughter of *Appius Claudius*, the Prince of the Senate; CAIUS to that of *Publius Crassus*; and their Sister, named *Sempronia*, was married to the young SCIPIO, Son of *Paulus Æmilius*. So that these two Brothers, by several Alliances, were related to the chief Families in the Republic.

*Portrait
of Tib.
Grac-
chus.
Vel. Pa-
terc. L. 3.*

These Advantages in TIBERIUS, were supported by a noble Air, an engaging Countenance, and all those winning Graces of Nature, which serve as a Recommendation to Merit. At the same Time, says an ancient Historian, he had acquired all the Virtues that can be expected from an excellent Education, Abundance of Wisdom, Moderation, Frugality, and public Spirit. His Mind was besides adorned with the finest Parts of Learning; and at thirty Years old, he was accounted the best Orator of his Age. His Style was pure; his Terms choice; his Expression simple, but always noble, and so moving, that he stole away the Assent of all that heard him.

His Enemies gave out, that beneath Manners so insinuating, he conceal'd an inordinate Ambition, an implacable Hatred against the Senate, and an extravagant Zeal for the Interest of the People,
which

which he made the Motive or Pretence of all his Undertakings.

It was this Adherence to the Interest of the People, and perhaps an Inclination to distinguish himself, that made him take up the Design of the Partition of the Lands; an old Pretension, which the Great Men of Rome thought quite extinguished by Oblivion and Prescription, but which he undertook to revive; though he well foresaw the strong Resistance he should meet with on the Part of the Senate; nay, and from the richer Sort among the People. It is said, that he was inspir'd with this Design by his Mother *Cornelia*, a Woman fond of Glory; and who, to stir up her Son's Ambition, had given him a kind of Reproach, because she was called in Rome, only the Mother-in-Law of *Scipio*, and not the Mother of the *Gracchi*. She was continually giving him to understand, that it was Time he should make himself known by his own Actions; that, indeed, his Brother-in-Law *Scipio* stood in the first Rank among the Captains and Generals of the Republic; but that he, in another Course, and by Laws useful to the People, had still Room to make himself a great Name; that this was the only Way he had left to raise himself to some Degree of Equality with the Conqueror of *Carthage*; and that by calling the People to a Share in the public Lands, he would render himself no less famous than his Brother-in-Law had done by his Conquests.

But C. GRACCHUS wrote in a History quoted by *Plutarch*, that his Brother formed this Project of himself; and that a Journey which he made through Part of *Italy*, before his Tribuneship, had put it into his Thoughts. That Historian relates, that *Tiberius* observed with surprize, that the Country which formerly was filled with rich Inhabitants, and afforded the Republic a serviceable Militia, was now peopled with none but
Slaves,

*Opposi-
tions he
met with.*

Slaves, whose Condition exempted them from going to the Wars: That a Change so prejudicial to the Common-wealth had made him resolve to restore the *Lex Licinia* to its ancient Force, and to bring the poorer Sort of the People into a Share of those Lands, in Order to relieve their Want, and enable them to raise up Children that might come to fill the Legions. Which ever of these secret Motives be true, whether private Ambition, or Zeal for the public Good, TIBERIUS was no sooner come to the Tribuneship, but he declared his Intention of reviving the *Lex Licinia*. However, he proposed it with all the Mitigations that he thought would pacify the Usurpers of the public Lands.

We have heard before, that this Law forbid any Roman Citizen to possess above five hundred Acres of those Lands, upon Pain of ten thousand *Asses* Fine. Nay, in the Rigor of the Law, those who had infringed it, might be forced to repay into the public Treasury, the Produce of such Lands as exceeded the Quantity allowed by the Law. TIBERIUS, who thought he should obtain enough, if he could only bring it again into Force, proposed a general Amnesty of all that was passed.

But the Grandees of Rome, and the richest Citizens, who thought themselves above the Laws, rejected with Contempt this Qualification of one which they pretended was out of Date. Most of them in a full Assembly, called the Tribune a Promoter of Sedition, and a Disturber of the public Peace. TIBERIUS, without forgetting his Character, asked them with the greatest Moderation, Whether the Condition of the Inhabitants of the Country, who had neither Lands of their own, nor even of other Mens to cultivate, did not fill them with Compassion? Whether they were not yet more moved at the Misery of their Fellow-
Citizens,

Citizens, who, of all the Conquests which the Republic had made, had nothing left but the Scars of the Wounds which they had received in the Wars? What they themselves meant to do with that Multitude of Slaves, with which they had filled *Italy*; those Slaves, no less useless in War, than they were dangerous by their Numbers in Peace? Then addressing himself to the meaner Sort of People, he represented to them their own Wretchedness in a tender Manner, and so as to stir up their Indignation. "The wild Beasts," said he, "have
" Dens and Caverns to retire into; while the Citizens of *Rome* have not so much as a Roof or a
" Cottage to shelter them from the Inclemency of
" the Weather; but, without any fixed Abode, are
" forced to wander about like miserable Exiles in
" the Heart of their own Country. They call
" you, added he, the Lords and Masters of the
" Universe. What Lords! What Masters! You,
" whom they have not left so much as an Inch of
" Ground to serve you even for a Grave!"

Though TIBERIUS's Design was not so much to relieve the Poverty of private Persons, as to re-people the Country, upon which he thought the Fortune of the Republic depended; yet these Discourses, which he often repeated, got him the Praises and the Affection of the Multitude. They were overjoyed at having a Tribune of so much Wisdom, and so full of Zeal for the Interests of the People. TIBERIUS having established his Credit, and finding the Minds of the Citizens, in that Warmth and Emotion which was so necessary to the Success of his Designs, convened the Assembly, which was to proceed to the Publication, or, to speak more properly, to the Revival of the *Lex Licinia*.

TIBERIUS showed the Justice of this Law with so much Eloquence; he made so frightful a Description of the Misery and Wretchedness of the
meaner

meaner Sort of People, and of the Inhabitants of the Country; and at the same Time set forth in such odious Colours, the Usurpation of the public Lands, and the immense Riches which the Avarice and Rapaciousness of the Great had racked together, that all the People, as it were transported with Fury, with loud Cries, demanded the Billets that they might give their Suffrages.

Manlius
and Ful-
vius.

The Rich, to keep off the Publication of the Law, privately conveyed away the Urns in which those Billets were preserved. This Fraud provoked the Tribune's Indignation, and the Rage of the People: A thousand confused Noises arose in the Assembly. The Rich, who wanted nothing but to gain Time, sent two Consular Persons to *Tiberius*, to beg him to appease the People, and to restore Quiet to the City.

The Tribune asked them what he could do without being wanting to his Duty and his Honour? "Suspend for this one Day," answered the two Consulars, "the Proposal of the Law; give Time to Men, who are now too much blinded by their Passion, to become less averse to Equity and Reason; and in the mean While, the Senate will find Ways to bring the different Parties to a Reconciliation." *Tiberius* consented to their Request and dismissed the Assembly. The Senate was convened the next Day. *Tiberius* relied upon the usual Condescension of that Body; and flattered himself, that the Fear of a Sedition would oblige the Senators to yield up at length a Part of the disputed Lands: And indeed there were several among them that, through a Principle of Equity, were for paying some Regard to the Complaints of the Tribune, and the Misery of the People. But the Parties concerned, who happened to be the greater Number, would not hear of any Composition whatsoever. The Rich, who feared they should be stripped of Lands on which they had

had built magnificent Edifices, shook with Anger and Indignation at the mere Name of TIBERIUS. Some said, that they had received these Lands from their Ancestors; that their Fathers were buried in them, and that they would defend their Tombs to the last Drop of their Blood. Others demanded to be repay'd the Portion of their Wives, which they had laid out in Purchases of that Nature; and there were some that produced Contracts, either real or forged, for Money which they had borrowed at great Interest, to buy the Lands which were now to be taken from them. Various Schemes were laid to hinder the Publication of the Law. Some were for privately ridiculing themselves of the Tribune, whom they called a Tyrant. Others, more moderate, proposed several Ways to prevent the Assembly of the People. But at length they had Recourse to the Expedient of Opposition, which the Senate had often before made use of with great Success. All they had to do for this Purpose, was to gain over only one of the Tribunes of the People, who by the Privilege of his Office had a Right, as we have said before, to oppose any Motion of his Colleagues. The Party of the Rich addressed themselves to *M. Octavius*: Though he was a Friend to TIBERIUS, there needed neither Prayers nor Promises to win him. His own Interest was sufficient to win him into the Cabal, and he with the more Readiness undertook to withstand TIBERIUS, as he actually possessed a greater Quantity of conquered Lands than the Law allowed. Thus they were secure of his Opposition.

This underhand Negotiation was not managed with so much Privacy, but that TIBERIUS got some Knowledge of it. And he was also informed, that the opposite Party intended to create several Obstacles to the assembling of the People, or at least to their coming to any final Resolution; which

was no hard Matter, in a City where Superstition reigned so despotically, and where no Laws could be confirmed without taking the Auspices, and consulting the Priests and Augurs, who never failed to return Answers conformable to the Interests of the ruling Party.

Tiberius
endea-
vours to
regain
Octavius.

TIBERIUS heard, not without Indignation, of the Impediments which were to be laid in his Way, to hinder the Execution of his Designs. But as he was one who, under the most gentle and insinuating Manners, preserved an invincible Courage, and unshaken Constancy, nothing was able to deter him. He first applied to his Colleague: He conjured him by the mutual Duties of their Function, and by the Bonds of an ancient Friendship, not to oppose the Good of the People, whose Magistrates and Patrons they were obliged to be; and to bring him over, he offered at his own Expence to make him full Amends for the full Value of the Lands which he would be obliged to restore. *Octavius* did not deny, that he was resolved to oppose the Publication of a Law, which must inevitably fill all the Families of *Rome* with Trouble and Confusion. He added, that he himself would meet with greater Obstacles than he imagined. And to shew himself no less generous than his Colleague, he rejected his Offers, and seemed immoveable in the Party he had embraced.

Tiberius
suspends
all the Ma-
gistrates
from their
Functions.

TIBERIUS having reflected upon what his Colleague had said to him, thought at last he had hit upon a Way to elude his Opposition. Being at the same Time resolved to avoid the artful Methods, that had so often been practised, to put off the Assemblies of the People, or to hinder them from agreeing upon any Decree, he by a new Edict, suspended all the Magistrates from their Functions, till the Law was either approved or rejected by the Voices of the People. He put his own Seal upon the Gates of the Temple of *Saturn*,

Saturn, where the Coffers of the Treasury were kept, to the Intent that neither the *Quæstors* nor *Treasurers* might have any Access to them; and subjected to great Fines all such *Magistrates* as should not pay Obedience to his Order.

After having taken these Precautions, he called a new Assembly of the People. The Day being come, he commanded an Officer to read aloud the Law which he offered for their Acceptance. *Octavius* did not fail to oppose it, and to forbid the reading of it. This bred sharp Disputes between the two *Tribunes*. But it was observed, that notwithstanding the Heat with which both maintained their Opinion, not a Word escaped from either, that could give the other Offence. *Tiberius*, on the contrary, addressing himself to his Colleague in that winning Manner, which gained him all Mens Hearts, conjured him by their ancient Friendship to oppose the Interests of the People no longer, but generously to sacrifice his private Ties to the Good of so many poor Families, whose Relief he deferred. *Octavius* replied, that he did not think the Law he proposed could be executed, without ruining the greatest Families, which were the strongest Support to the Common-wealth, and occasioning in the City a vast Number of intricate Law-Suits upon account of Trusts. He added, That, even tho' it were possible, without any Inconvenience, to recover out of the Hands of the Proprietors what Lands exceeded the Quantity of five Hundred Acres; this Over-plus, when divided among the infinite Numbers of poor Citizens that were then in *Rome*, would do them very little Service; that therefore he would never consent to the Publication of a Law that would ruin the Rich, without enriching the Poor.

The great Men of *Rome* triumph'd upon this *Tib.* Opposition; but *Tiberius*, who had a greater *Gracchus* Capacity, or more Boldness than any that ever pre-*deposes his* ceded *Colleague* *Octavius*.

ceded him in the Tribuneship, defeated their Joy by a new and very extraordinary Expedient. "Since Custom," says he, addressing himself to the Assembly, "will not allow a Tribune to propose any new Law, if but one of his Colleagues forbids it, it is but Justice that I should submit to the Opposition of *Octavius*. But then, as the Tribuneship was created only with a View to the redressing of the Peoples Grievances, and as that Tribune, who forsakes this View, destroys the very Foundation of his Institution, I demand, that the People, by Plurality of Voices, decide which of the two, *Octavius* or I, acts most contrary to their Interests; and that he who is judged to have failed in his Duty, and to have abused his Privilege of Opposition, be immediately deposed. For," added *TIBERIUS*, "if the *Roman* People, to punish the Lust and Violence of a single Man, had Power to deprive a King of his Crown, and to suppress the Royal Dignity itself, in which the Authority of all other Magistrates is comprehended; who can doubt, but that the same People has Power to abolish the Tribuneship, if it grows incompatible with their Liberty; and much more to depose a Tribune, if he abuses the Privileges of his Office, and turns against the People themselves, a Power with which he was intrusted only to procure their Advantage?" The People, who always find Justice in whatever makes for them, gave great Praises to an Argument more subtile than solid. The Expedient proposed by *TIBERIUS* was unanimously approved, and they resolved to decide the very next Day, which of the two Tribunes should be excluded from the Tribuneship. *TIBERIUS*, who had found a Way to make his own Interest that of the People, was in no Pain for himself; but as he was apprehensive, that *Octavius* would refuse to expose his Dignity to such a Trial, he offered, in

Hopes

Hopes to induce him to submit to the Judgment of the People, that he himself should convene the Assembly, and preside in it: And the more to draw him into it, he added, with a seeming Indifference, that, for his Part, he should lay down the Tribuneship with more Pleasure than he took it up.

Octavius did not give into this Snare; he too well knew to what a Degree *Tiberius*, who was the Idol of the People, was Master of their Voices; and besides, he was very cautious how he either convened the Assembly, or presided in it, for fear he should by such a Step give Authority to a Decree to which he was sure of falling a Victim. *Tiberius*, upon his Refusal, called the Assembly himself for the next Day. Never was there seen at *Rome* so numerous an Appearance of her Citizens; Rich and Poor, the Senate, the Grandees, and the principal Men of the City, all flock'd to it with equal Expectation. It was a very extraordinary Spectacle to see two Tribunes so hotly engaged against each other; and it had been no disagreeable Entertainment to the Senators, if in this famous Contention, the Loss of the public Lands had not been inseparable from *Octavius's* Disposal. *Tiberius* having ascended the *Rostrum*, once more exhorted his Colleague to withdraw his Opposition; but finding that he resolutely persisted in it, he proposed the Question to the Assembly, Which of them two the *Roman* People would remove? The Billets were immediately given out; of five and thirty Tribes into which they were then divided, seventeen had already given their Voices against *Octavius*; and there now wanted the Suffrages of but one Tribe to compleat his Sentence, when *Tiberius*, being willing to make one more Trial, whether it was not possible to prevail upon him, suspended the Deliberation, and addressing himself to *Octavius*, conjured him, in the most pressing

Terms, not to expose himself by his Obstinacy to so great a Disgrace, nor to give him the Grief of having been forced to dishonour his Colleague and his Friend.

It was observed, that *Octavius* could not hear these Words without concern, insomuch that the Tears came into his Eyes; but casting his Look towards the Senate, he was ashamed to break his Word with them, and at length boldly answered *Tiberius*, that he might finish his Work. That Tribune, full of Indignation at his Adherence to the Faction of the Rich, continued to gather the Votes: *Octavius* was deposed; the People tore him from his Tribunal, and in their Fury would have insulted him farther, had not the Grandees, whose Victim he had made himself, facilitated his Retreat.

*The Lex
Licinia
restored.*

This Obstacle being thus got over, by the Removal of that very Magistrate who had occasion'd it, the *Lex LICINIA* was revived with one Consent. Three Commissioners, or Triumvirs, were afterwards chosen to hasten its Execution. The People gave *Tiberius* the first Place in this Commission; and he had Interest enough besides to get for his Colleagues, his Father-in Law *Appius Claudius* and his Brother *C. Gracchus*, tho' this young Roman was not above twenty Years old, and was then actually performing his first Exercises in War, at the Siege of *Numantia*, under *Scipio*, who was his Brother-in-Law. The People, as another Mark of their Favour, gave *Octavius's* Place to *Mutius*, an obscure Man, and one that had no Merit but the Recommendation of *Tiberius*; so that this *Plebeian* Magistrate, now grown absolute Master of the Tribuneship, and superior to the whole Senate, by Means of his Power over the Minds of the People, was, as it were, the sole Governor of the Republic; at least the other Magistrates could do nothing if he were against them; while he, independently

pendently of all the rest, was sure of Success in every Thing he undertook.

This absolute Empire in a Republic, was odious to the Senate, and even to the *Plebeians* themselves. His Enemies took hold of this Advantage; ^{Murmur-ings a-} they insinuated that their Liberty was in the ^{Tib.} greatest Danger; and many openly averred, that ^{Grac-} *Cassius* and *Melius*, who were put to Death, had never made themselves so suspicious: "Is it not certain," added they, "that when the Safety of the State is concerned, the bare Probability of a Crime ought to be punish'd? Shall we delay to stand up against *Tiberius*, till his Accomplishes have set the Crown upon his Head?" These malicious Discourses lessened his Credit; and just about the same Time he lost one of his most zealous Adherents. The unexpected Death of that Friend, the Cause of which was unknown, gave a Suspicion that it was not natural.

The Rich and the Poor then formed two Parties very much embittered against each other, and that sought nothing but one another's Destruction. *Tiberius*, with Design to increase the Animosity of the People, and to show that he was apprehensive of an Assassination, suffered it to appear that he was armed under his Robe. He put on Habits of Mourning, as was the Custom in the greatest Calamities; and bringing his Children, yet young, into the *Forum*, and into the middle of the Assembly, he recommended them to the People, in Terms which gave them to understand, that he despaired of his own Preservation. The People at this Sight returned no Answer, but by Out-cries and Menaces against the Rich. Never did so much Hatred against the Senate appear before. *Tiberius* kept up this Aversion in the People, sometimes by working upon their Pity, and sometimes by Motives of Revenge, or by new Prospects of Advantage. This artful Tribune raised these various Sen-

timents by Turns, according to the Disposition of People's Minds, and the Posture of Affairs.

*Attalus
King of
Pergamus
makes the
Roman
People his
Heirs.*

The Death of *Attalus Philopater*, King of *Pergamus*, gave him a new Opportunity to bind the Multitude yet more firmly to himself. That Prince, by his Will, had named the *Roman People* to be his Heir. *Tiberius*, who always acted by the same Spirit, proposed a new Edict, which shou'd decree that all the King of *Pergamus's* Treasure should be divided among the poorest of those Citizens, who were to have a Share in the Distribution of the public Lands, in order to buy them Cattle and the Utenfils necessary for cultivating their little Inheritances. "As to the Cities and their Territories," added *Tiberius*, "I will make my Report of them to the People, when I am better informed in that Matter; and they shall dispose of them in their Assemblies, as a Legacy which belongs to them."

*Murmur-
ings of the
Senate a-
gainst
Tib.
Grac-
chus.*

Plutarch writes, that of all *Tiberius's* Undertakings, none offended the whole Body of the Senate so much as this Design; which by referring to the People the Cognizance of so great an Affair, conveyed to them the whole Authority of the Government, and deprived the Senators of the immense Profit which they thought to have made by disposing of that Prince's Dominions. Ambition and Interest stirred up the highest Resentment in the chief Men of *Rome*. They publicly reproached *Tiberius*, that this Intent in giving the Disposal of *Attalus's* Kingdom to the People, was to have the Crown placed upon his own Head. He was even accused of endeavouring to make himself the Tyrant of his own Country; nay, there were some who reported that he had before Hand got Possession of *Attalus's* Royal Diadem and purple Robe. But these injurious Calumnies, which proceeded from nothing but the Aversion of the Great, did not at all agree with the Character

rafter of *Tiberius*. Never Man was more a Republican than that Tribune. All that he had done in the Business of the Partition of the Lands, had no other End but to bring the Condition of the poor Citizens nearer to that of the Rich, and to establish a kind of Equality among them all.

It is true, he afterwards carried this Principle too far, and perceiving that his Laws had provoked an implacable Hatred against him in the Great, and that his Death was resolv'd upon, he kept no farther Measures. He applied himself wholly to undermine the Authority of the Senate, and to secure himself an Asylum in the Power of the People. It was with this View that he was daily proposing new Laws. At one Time he was for diminishing the Number of Years which the Soldiers were obliged to serve; at another he demanded that it might be lawful to appeal to the Assembly of the People, from the Judgments of all other Magistrates. But of all the Blows which he gave to the Authority of the Senate, there was none that struck so deep, as the new Proposal he made to put as many Knights as Senators into the several Tribunals of *Rome*.

Tiberius gave the People a Prospect of Laws so much to their Advantage, only that they might continue him in the Tribuneship, to prosecute the passing of them. The Senate, enraged at these new Enterprizes, formed a strong Cabal to keep him out of it. The Magistrates, the Gracchus
Divers
Laws of
Tib.
Gracchus
the Gracchees, and even some Tribunes of the People who were jealous of his great Credit, list themselves in this Party. And the Day of Election being come, as the Tribune, who presided in the Assembly, had a great Influence over the Votes, they disputed that Right with *Mutius*, a Creature of *Tiberius*, though it was devolved to him by the Deposal of *Octavius*, whom he represented.

This

The History of the Revolutions Book VIII.

This Opposition of the *Tribunes* seemed to *Tiberius* an ill Omen: He plainly found there was a strong Party form'd against him. In order to come to a Knowledge of its Power and Designs, he contrived to spend the whole Time of the Assembly in Disputes with his Colleagues about the Presidency; and the Night coming on, the Election was forced to be put off till the next Day.

He employed that whole Night in securing the Heads of the People. His Adherents dispersing themselves into different Parts of the City, exhorted the *Plebeians* to repair betimes to the *Forum*. Most of them, to show their Zeal, came before Break of Day. The Great and Rich being informed that the People had got Possession of the *Forum*, resolved to drive them out by open Force, rather than suffer *Tiberius* to be continued in the Tribuneship. They got together for their Guard, their Clients, their Domesticks, and their Slaves, who were privately armed with Sticks, and expected them at the Door of the Senate.

Tiberius, who knew nothing of their Designs, prepared to go to the *Forum*. But he had unlucky Presages which kept him back, and which Superstition and Prejudice then regarded as the surest Interpreters of the Will of the Deity.

Presages.

Word was brought him that the Sacred Fowls had that Morning refused to eat. As he went out of his House, he hurt his Foot against the Threshold of his Door; and he had not got far, when some Ravens that were fighting threw a Tile down at his Feet. This, in those Days, was enough to withhold the most daring. The Tribune, affrighted at these Omens, was going to return Home; but a certain Greek Philosopher, an intimate Friend of *Tiberius*, laughing at these vulgar Prejudices, put him in Mind what a Shame it would be to *Tiberius Gracchus*, Tribune of the Roman People, Son of a Consular, and Grandson of the great

Blossius.

Scipio.

Scipio, if it were said that, though he was at the Head of a powerful Army, the Croaking of two Crows put him off from the Execution of his Designs.

This Reproach made the Tribune ashamed of his Weakness; and several of his Adherents running from the Assembly to hasten his coming, told him he would find the greatest Number of Votes united in his Favour. *Tiberius* followed them, and accompanied by his particular Friends, ascended the Capitol. The People, the Moment they perceived him, broke out into Shouts of Joy and Applause. But scarce was he placed in his Tribunal, when a Senator that was his Friend, breaking through the Crowd, and coming up to him, gave him Notice that there was a Conspiracy against his Life, and that the Grandees of *Rome*, especially those that were personally concerned in the Affair of Lands, were resolved to attack him openly in his very Tribunal.

The Friends of the Tribune, moved at the Danger to which he was exposed, got together about him, tuck'd up their Gowns, and laying hold of the Arms of the Lictors, prepared to defend him, and to repel Force by Force. *Tiberius* endeavoured to make the People acquainted with the Information he had received; but the Tumult, the Noise, and the Clamours of the different Parties, hindering him from being heard, he touched his Head with his two Hands, in order to make the People conceive that his Life was in Danger. His Enemies hence took Occasion to cry out, that he asked a Crown; and some of the hottest ran to tell the Senate, that the People were just going to crown *Tiberius*, if they did not speedily oppose it.

This was an Artifice to make the Senate overlook all Forms, and proscribe him immediately. Most of the Senators, whom the Execution of the *Lex Licinia* would have stripped of part of their Lands,

Scipio
Nasica
opposes
Gracchus

Lands, run into the most bitter Speeches against *Tiberius*. But nobody was more inveterate than his own Kinsman *Scipio Nasica*. That Senator addressing himself to the first Consul, represented to him, that all the Novelties which the Tribune had introduced into the Government, were but so many Steps to raise himself to the Throne; that there was not a Moment's Time to be lost, and that they must destroy the Tyrant, if they would preserve their Liberty. But that wise Magistrate, who would not make himself the Minister of the Revenge of particular Persons, reply'd, That he was equally incapable of approving the new Laws, and of putting the Author to Death, contrary to the usual Form of Justice.

Nasica's
Rage.

An Answer so full of Moderation, only enrag'd those exasperated Spirits the more. *Scipio* arose abruptly from his Place; and turning towards those Senators that were concerned like himself in the Loss of the Lands, "Since the chief Magistrate," says he, "out of so scrupulous a Subjection to the usual Forms of Justice, refuses to succour the Republic, let those who value Liberty above Life, follow me." At the same Time he gathers up his Robe, and puts himself at the Head of the Senators of his Party, who run hot with Fury to the Capitol, with that Multitude of Clients, Servants, and Slaves, that waited to attend them at the Door of the Senate. Those People, armed only with Clubs and Levers, went before the Senators, and fell indifferently upon all that stood in their Way.

Death of
Gracchus

The People terrified, take to Flight. In this Tumult every Man disperses different Ways. *Tiberius's* Friends abandon him. He is at length obliged to provide for his own Safety, as well as the rest; he flings off his Robe, that he may run with the more Freedom; but in that Hurry of Spirits, which is inseparable from Fear, he tum-
bles

bles down in his Flight; and as he got up again, *Publeius Satureius*, one of his Colleagues, secretly jealous of his Glory, gave him a Blow on the Head with the Foot of a Chair. He falls again with this Blow, and a Crowd of his Enemies rushing forward upon him, finished the Work. His Death did not put an End to the Disorder: The Fury was equal in all Parts of the City, and above three hundred of *Tiberius's* Friends and Adherents lost their Lives in this Tumult. It is observable, that not one was killed by the Sword, but all were bruised to Death with Stones or Clubs. Their Bodies were afterwards flung into the *Tyber* with that of *Tiberius*.

The Faction of the Great extended their Resentment to all that had been known to favour his Sentiments. Several of them were put to Death. *Popilius*, then Prætor, banished great Numbers; and no Methods were forgot, to strike a Terror into those, that should ever have any Thoughts of attempting the like Regulation for the future.

The End of the Eighth Book.



B O O K IX.

C. Gracchus, the Brother of Tiberius, obtains of the People the Office of Tribune, notwithstanding the Opposition of the Great. He proposes several Laws, and makes various Alterations in the Government, which render him almost absolute in Rome, and all over Italy. The Year of his Tribuneship being expired, he is continued in the same Post, without making the least Interest for it. In what Manner the Senators contrived to diminish his Credit. Scipio Æmilianus, the Destroyer of Carthage and Numantia, is the most open Opposer of the Agrarian Law. He is found dead in his Bed. Caius is suspected of having a Hand in his Assassination. His Colleagues, jealous of his Authority, find Means to exclude him from a third Tribunate. The Senators, when they find Caius returned to a private Condition, give the Consul Opimius a Charge to annul all his Laws, and especially that relating to the Partition of the Lands. Opimius convenes a general Assembly to determine this great Affair. One of the Consul's Lictors being slain by the Plebeians, without the Consent of Caius, the Senate impowers Opimius to put his Adherents into Arms. Caius is killed, and his Head brought to the Consul, who pays down Seventeen Pound and a Half of Gold for it. The Gracches at length obtain an Acknowledgement, that they are the lawful Possessors of the conquered Lands, by engaging themselves to pay a certain Rent, which they continue not long to do. Jugurtha, who he was. His first Campaigns. His Money for some Time.

Time serves him instead of Justice at Rome: But at length his Cruelty obliges the Romans to send Troops into Numidia. After having successfully employed against these formidable Enemies, Bribery, Stratagem, and Force, he is deliver'd up by Bocchus to his Enemies, carried to Rome, dragg'd like a Slave at the Wheels of a Triumphal Chariot, and at last thrown by an Executioner into a deep Dungeon, where he is starved to Death. Marius Sylla.

ROME now first knew what it was to have a Civil War raging within the very Circumference of her Walls. All the Seditions, which till now had risen, about the Retreat to the *Mons Sacer*, the Abrogation of the Debts, the Establishment of the Tribuneship, and the Promulgation of various Laws, all these Dissentions constantly terminated by Way of Accommodation, and without the Effusion of human Blood, sometimes by the People's Respect for the Senate, and oftner yet by the Senate's Condescension to the People. But upon this last Occasion, the Quarrel was decided by Violence, and it was a Tribune of the People himself, that, without Respect to his own Dignity, though reputed Sacred, gave the first Blow to his Colleague.

Plut. in Gracchis.
App. Alex. Civ.
L. 1. Vel. Paterc.
Cros. L. Florus.

In the mean Time, the People being recovered from their Fear, reproached themselves with his Death, as much as if they had with their own Hands assassinated the Man whom they did not defend with sufficient Courage. Their Indignation then fell upon *Scipio Nasica*, the Beginner of the Tumult. The *Plebeians* never met him in the Streets, but they publicly upbraided him with Murder and Sacrilege. Some boiling with Rage threatened to kill him; others proposed to summon him before the Assembly of the People. The Senate, fearing lest his Presence might raise a new Sedition, thought proper to remove him, and there-

Tiberius regretted.

therefore sent him into *Asia*, with a seeming Commission to disguise a real Banishment. The Senate, to appease the People effectually, consented also to the Execution of the Law; they suffered another Commissioner to be chose in the Place of *Tiberius*, for the Partition of the Lands; nay, and granted that Employment to *Publius Crassus*, whose Daughter was married to *C. Gracchus*, *Tiberius's* Brother. But all this was only to amuse the People. *Tiberius's* Laws were still as odious as ever to the Great. The Death of *Appius Claudius*, one of the Triumvirs, gave them a new Pretence for suspending the Execution of them; and the Division of the Lands began to be look'd upon to be one of those Affairs which it is intended to bring insensibly to nothing, by letting them drop into Oblivion.

*Policy of
Caius.*

Caius Gracchus was the only Man from whom the People could look for Assistance. (But, besides that he was too young to enter into public Business, being but one and twenty Years old when his Brother was killed) it was observed, that since his Death, he always seemed unwilling to show himself Abroad; either fearing in Reality the Enemies of his House; or designing, by this affected Terror, to make them more odious to the People. For it was not long before it appeared, that he had thus voluntarily banish'd himself from the Conversation of the World, only to fit himself to shine in it more conspicuously, and to revenge the Death of his Brother.

There were, as we have seen, but two Ways that led equally to all the Dignities of the Republic, Eloquence and remarkable Valour. *Caius* had already distinguished himself at the War of *Numantia*, under the young *Scipio*, his General, and Brother-in-Law. The Death of *Tiberius*, and the ill Success of his Party, having obliged him to disappear, he spent the whole Time of his Retreat in the Study of Eloquence, a Talent so absolutely

absolutely necessary in a republican Government. He buried himself in his Closet; his Door was shut against the young *Romans* of his own Age, and the Friends of his Family. He was quickly forgot, and the Brother of *Tiberius*, and the Grandson of the great *Scipio*, was unknown in *Rome*. The Grandees beheld this Retreat with abundance of Pleasure, as an Effect of the Consternation, which the Death of his Brother had struck into him, and as a silent Declaration that he durst not meddle in the Government.

But they soon found that he had withdrawn himself from Business, only to make himself more capable of it. He came out of his Retreat to defend one of his Brother's Friends, named *Veſtius*; Caius defends Veſtius. whom the opposite Party endeavoured to destroy upon an Accusation of several Crimes. CAIUS undertook his Defence: He for the first time ascended the *Rostrum*. The People could not see him in that Place without the loudest Acclamations, and the most extraordinary Transports of Joy. They imagin'd they saw reviv'd in his Person a second *Tiberius*, and a new Protector of the *Agrarian* Laws. This Benevolence, which they show'd him in so remarkable a Manner, inspir'd him with a Confidence and Boldness very rarely known in those who speak in Public for the first Time; and he pleaded for his Client with so much Eloquence and Strength, that he was acquitted by the unanimous Voices of the whole Assembly.

Having by this first Action made a Trial of his own Capacity, and of the Disposition of the People's Minds, he thought that before he launch'd wholly into public Affairs, it would be of Service to him, to have that Reputation, which is obtained by Valour, and the Exercise of Arms. He asked and obtained the Office of *Quæstor* to the Army, which was then in *Sardinia*, under the Command of the Consul *Orestes*: This was the first Caius, Quæstor; his Character.

Employment with which it was necessary to begin to attain the Dignities of the Republic. *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Caius*, relates, that no Man in the Army show'd more Valour against the Enemy, and more Regard to the Military Discipline. People above all admir'd, in an Age so little advanc'd, his Temperance, and the Austerity of his Manners. These did not make him the less civil or complaisant. The Officer, and private Soldier, that had to do with him upon account of his Post, were equally charm'd with his Affability, his Diligence, and especially with his Probity and Disinterestedness. The constant Practice of so many Virtues was not confined to the *Roman* Camp. *CAIUS* used the same Humanity towards all the Subjects of the Republic, that had Dependence upon his Office. The Citizen and Countryman, as well as the Soldier, thought themselves equally happy in a Man of his Integrity. His Reputation quickly passed the Seas; and *Micipsa*, King of *Nu-*
Praised by Micipsa's Ambassadors. *midia*, and Son of *Massinissa*, having sent a Present of Corn for the Army in *Sardinia*, the Ambassadors, which that Prince then had at *Rome*, declared in full Senate, that the King, their Master, performed this Act of Generosity only out of Respect to *Caius Gracchus*, whose Virtue he revered. This Declaration awaken'd the Jealousy and Hatred of the Great. Virtues too bright were odious and dangerous to them. And to lessen in some Degree the Quæstor's Glory, and render him contemptible, they drove those Ambassadors with Shame out of the Senate, as *Barbarians* who, by this Preference, had been wanting of Respect to their Body.

A Treatment so unworthy, and which seemed to violate the Law of Nations, was soon heard of in *Sardinia*. *CAIUS* could not help feeling a quick Resentment of this Mark of the implacable Hatred of the Great. He then thought his Return to *Rome* necessary

necessary for the Support of his Credit, and to repel an Insult made so directly upon himself, and visibly with Design to render him contemptible to the People, and among the Nations Abroad. He set out abruptly, and appeared in the *Forum*, when he was thought to be in *Sardinia*. *He returns from Sardinia.* The Enemies of his Family, who watched all his Steps, urged it as a Crime against him, that he was returned before his General. He was cited before the Censors, where he quickly overthrew this Accusation.

He made appear, that he had stay'd three Years with his General, though a Quæstor was allow'd to return to *Rome* at the End of a Year; and that thus he had served two more than was prescribed by the Law. He added that he was come back from *Sardinia* without Wealth; whereas, all that had preceded him in the same Employment, had enriched themselves in it, and had brought Home not only their Purfes fill'd with Gold and Silver, but had likewise stow'd it into the Pots and Vessels which, when they went over into that Island, had served them for the Carriage of Wine. We may easily imagine that, with such Reasons, he was readily acquitted. His Enemies, who sought nothing but to keep him from the Dignities, to which the Favour of the People, in all Probability, would speedily raise him, charged him with a new Accusation. They endeavoured to throw upon him the Suspicion of a Tumult that had happened at *Fregillæ*, a City dependent upon the Republic, which the Prætor *Opimius*, a severe cruel Man, had allay'd by the entire Ruin of that City, and the Death of the principal Inhabitants. That Senator, a declar'd Enemy to the Memory of *Tiberius*, in the Account which he gave in full Senate of his own Conduct in that Affair, forgot nothing which might insinuate a Belief that *CAIUS* was the secret Mover of that Sedition. He added, that

he had discovered a private Correspondence between him and the Chief Men of the City; that it was not probable they should form such a Project as withdrawing themselves from their Subjection to the Senate, had they not received private Assurances of the Protection of the People; and that if their Disobedience had met with Success, it had perhaps been nothing but a Signal to a general Revolt against the Sovereignty of the Republic. But all that this passionate Senator advanced against CAIUS being without Proofs, his ill Designs had no Effect; and the young *Gracchus* thought he had no better Way to revenge himself on his Enemies, than by boldly demanding the Office of Tribune of the People. This was attacking the Senate in their most tender Part. At the bare Name of *Gracchus*, the Grandees, and especially those of them whose Estates were in Danger by the Revival of the *Agrarian* Laws, burnt with Fury. They made a strong Conspiracy to keep him out of the Tribuneship. But the whole People declared in his Favour; and so great a Number of *Plebeians* flock'd even out of the Country to give him their Voices, that, the *Forum* not being able to contain such a vast Multitude, many got up to the Tops of Houses, from whence, with loud Cries and Acclamations, mixed with Praises, they demanded CAIUS for their Tribune; and as in this Election, the Voices were reckon'd by Tale, the People, more numerous than the Nobility, carry'd it by a vast Majority, and obtain'd CAIUS for one of their Tribunes. He no sooner saw himself invested with a Dignity, which gave him a Power almost without Bounds, but he built, upon his Brother's Plan, Designs yet more daring, and carry'd them on even with more Warmth than he had done. The same Spirit, and the same Views, appeared in both the Brothers, though under different Characters. *Tiberius*, as we said before,

Caius
Tribune.
Year of
Rome,
630.

fore, conceal'd an unmoveable Firmness under a seeming Moderation. His Eloquence was soft and insinuating; he endeavoured to please, in order to persuade; he sought to move the Hearts of his Auditors; and when he stripped *Octavius* of the Tribuneship, it seemed as if he was as much touched with the Disgrace as himself, and that nothing but the Love of Justice, and the Interest of the People, could have induced him to undertake so melancholy an Office, as that of making his Colleague unhappy.

CAIUS show'd himself more undisguis'd. Full as eloquent, but sharper in his Expressions, and more vehement than his Brother, his Speech was adorned with all the pathetic Figures; he even mingled Invectives with his Proofs and Arguments; his Zeal for the Interest of the People was turned into Rage against the Senate. Nothing but Thunder and Lightening, if we may use so bold an Expression, issued out of his Mouth; and he struck Terror into the very Souls of his Hearers. For the rest, the Firmness of these two Brothers, their Love of Justice, their Integrity, their Temperance, their Contempt of Pleasure, and their inviolable Adherence to the Interests of the People, were Qualities which they possess'd in an equal Degree.

It was only observed, that *CAIUS* had showed more Inclination to Revenge; a Fault to which those Pagans had given the Name of a Virtue, and which they looked upon to be a Greatness of Soul. As his Office engaged him to speak frequently to the People, whatever Subject he was upon, he always introduced the inhuman Manner in which the Senate had murdered his Brother. "What did it avail *Tiberius*," said he, "to have been born a *Roman*, and in the Bosom of a Republic, whose Laws all forbid the putting to Death any Citizen before he is convicted of the

“ Crimes laid to his Charge? The Senate, the
 “ *Patricians*, the Great, and the Rich, have assassi-
 “ nated with Clubs, not a private Citizen, but a
 “ Tribune of the People, a public Magistrate,
 “ and a sacred Person. Their Fury did not stop at
 “ depriving him of Life; even after Death they
 “ continued to execute their Rage upon his Corpse;
 “ they dragged him basely through the Streets,
 “ and carry’d their Inhumanity to such a Height,
 “ as to throw him into the *Tyber*, in order to de-
 “ prive him of the Honours of Burial.” By such
 Discourses, equally warm and moving, he raised
 the Compassion of the People, at the same Time that
 he stirred up their Hatred and Indignation against
 the Senate and the Great. After having sowed in
 the Minds of Men these Seeds of Resentment and
 Division, he began to prosecute his own Revenge
 by the Proposal of two new Edicts. The first de-
 clared that Magistrate to be infamous, who should
 be deposed by the Judgment of the People. This
 Law plainly regarded *Oflavius*, the Tribune, whom
Tiberius had removed. But *Plutarch* informs us,
 that *Caius*, at the Request of his Mother *Cornelia*,
 to whom *Oflavius* was somewhat ally’d, did not
 insist upon the Promulgation of this Edict.

Two new
 Laws of
 Caius.

Cic. in
 Cluentia-
 nâ, Rabi-
 rianâ, de
 perduel-
 lione, i.
 tem pro
 domo suâ.

By the second Law, and which he went through
 with, it was ordained, That any Magistrate that
 should banish a *Roman* Citizen, without observing
 the Formalities prescrib’d by the Laws, should be
 accountable to the Assembly of the People. This
 second Edict was proposed only to destroy *Popilius*,
 who, during his Prætorship, had banish’d the Friends
 and Adherents of *Tiberius*. *Popilius* did not stay
 for his Trial; but, knowing that *CAIUS* disposed,
 as he pleas’d, of the Suffrages of the Multitude,
 and that so his Opponent and Enemy would be his
 Judge, he voluntarily banish’d himself from his
 Country to avoid a Punishment more severe.

CAIUS

CAIUS finding, by this Trial of his Credit, ^{Caius's} that it was in his Power to do any Thing, formed ^{Designs.} Designs of greater Consequence, the chief Aim of which was to convey the whole Authority of the Government from the Senate into the Assembly of the People. It was upon this Scheme that he made a new Edict, to give the Title and Privilege of *Roman* Citizens, to all the Inhabitants of *Latium*; and he afterwards made the same Law extend quite to the *Alps*. He at the same Time proposed, that the Colonies which should be peopled by *Latins*, should have the same Privileges as the Colonies of *Romans*; and that those who had not the Right of Suffrage in the Election of Magistrates, might however give their Votes when any new Law was under Consideration. By these proposals he encreased the Number of the People's Voices; and these new Citizens, who owed that great Privilege to him, might be said to be entirely at his Devotion, and followed his Orders as his Clients and Creatures.

CAIUS, to make himself more and more agreeable to the Multitude, fixed the Price of Grain at a very moderate Rate for their Relief. Some Historians even say, that, during his Tribuneship, he caused a free Distribution of Corn to be made out of the public Granaries. The People, who are always governed by those who find Means to procure them Plenty, were never weary of praising a Magistrate, whose Thoughts seemed wholly employ'd for their Subsistence. But these Actions appeared dangerous to the Senate, who looked upon all these Innovations to be nothing but so many indirect Methods to undermine their Authority; and what filled up the Measure of their Hatred against the Tribune, was the Change he introduced in the Tribunals, where Justice was dispensed to private Persons.

*Knights,
Judges.*

These Tribunals had hitherto been filled by Persons chosen out of the Body of the Senate; and this great Privilege kept the Knights and People in that Respect, which they always have for the Arbiters of their Estates and Fortunes. CAIUS, after the Example of his Brother *Tiberius*, resolv'd to strip the Senate of this Part of its Authority: And to effect his Purpose, he made it appear, that *Cornelius Cotta*, and *M. Acilius*, the Chief of the Senate, who had been convicted of several Extortions, by most clear and undeniable Proofs, had yet escaped the Rigour of the Laws, through the Corruption of their Judges. From whence he afterwards took Occasion to represent to the People, that they must never expect to obtain Justice in Tribunals, where the Criminals themselves, or at least their Relations and Accomplices, sat as Judges; and concluded with demanding, that the Administration of Justice in private Suits, should be transferr'd to the Knights; or, at least, that three hundred of the most considerable should be chosen out of that Order, to be assistant to the Senate, with Equality of Voices and Power, in determining all Affairs.

The People receiv'd this Proposal with the Applauses which they gave to every Thing that came from the Tribune: And the Senate, confounded at the shameful Collusion of the Judges in the Affair of *Cotta* and *Acilius*, knew not how to oppose this Law. It pass'd unanimously; and the People, whose Number of Votes made them more powerful than the Senate, and who indoliz'd *Caius*, refer'd to him alone the Choice of those three hundred Knights that were to be admitted into the Magistracies of the City: He named none but his own Friends and Creatures. By these several Changes which he introduced into the Government, he made himself equally absolute in *Rome*, and all *Italy*. Yet it must be confess'd, that he employ'd

employ'd this Authority, so odious to the Senate, Caius la-
 and so justly suspicious in a Common-wealth, only *bours for*
 for the Glory of his Country, and the Service of *the public*
 his Fellow-Citizens. Nay, he sometimes hindred *Good.*
 other Magistrates from carrying their Regard to
 the People too far; and *Fabius*, the Pro-prætor of
Spain, having extorted from the Cities under his
 Government, Corn which they were not bound to
 furnish, and then sent it to *Rome*, to make his
 Court to the meaner Sort of People; CAIUS, who
 could not bear either Injustice or Violence in the
 Government, got the People themselves to adjudge
 that Corn to be sold, and the Produce to be re-
 turned to the Cities and Communities which had
 been wronged of it. The same Decree added, that
 the Pro-prætor should undergo a severe Reproof
 for having, by such Oppressions, exposed the Re-
 public to the Complaints and Disgusts of her Sub-
 jects and Allies.

This Decree, which was owing solely to him,
 gave his Friends an Opportunity of extolling his
 Love for Justice. But his Enemies, on the con-
 trary, gave out, that they could see nothing in
 this Behaviour, but what was an Effect of his Jeal-
 ousy, and that he was too artful to allow any other
 Magistrate besides himself, to win upon the Affec-
 tions of the People, and to share their Favour and
 Gratitude with himself.

CAIUS, without giving any Heed to these Calum-
 nies, sought only to maintain the Alterations he had
 introduced by new Regulations, which he had still
 the Art to cloath with the Appearance of the pub- *Public*
 lic Good. He proposed the building public *Granaries*
 Granaries, there to keep a sufficient Quantity of *built.*
 Grain to prevent Scarcity in barren Years. The *Cicero.*
 Proposal being agreed to, he took the Execution *Livy.*
 of it upon himself, as he generally did of all the
 Designs which he offered. He himself pushed on
 the Work, and took Care to have it done with a
 Magni-

*Caius's
Authority.*

Magnificence worthy of the Greatness of the *Romans*. Every Thing passed as it were through his own Hands; he would know every thing himself; and, under Pretence of watching to see that nothing was done contrary to the Interest of the People, he assumed to himself the whole Authority of the Government. He was eternally surrounded with Ambassadors, Magistrates, Soldiers, Men of Letters, Artificers, and Workmen, without ever being in the least perplexed by the Number or Diversity of his Affairs. Every Body admir'd his Activity; and his Enemies themselves could not disown the Greatness and Clearness of his Capacity.

But these very Talents, and, above all, the Use he made of them in Favour of the People, were what rendered him more and more odious to the Senate and Grandees of *Rome*; and they impatiently longed for the End of his Tribuneship and Authority. The *Comitia* at length came; the Assembly was held for the Election of Tribunes for the following Year. CAIUS did not make the least Interest to be chosen; but the People, who hop'd to obtain new Privileges by his Means, named him Tribune a second Time; and it was observed, that he was the first Citizen that ever attained to that Dignity, without canvassing for it.

*Tribune a
second
Time.
Year of
Rome,
631.*

*The Great
contrive to
ruin him.*

The Senate could not, without the most violent Uneasiness, behold the Continuation of a Magistrate, who by little and little was stealing away all their Authority. Various Councils were held; the hotter Sort were immediately for taking him off, and using him as they had done his Brother: But the Fear of raising a Sedition made them take another Method, which may be looked upon to be one of the finest Strokes of Policy that was ever practised. They resolved, before they proceeded to Violence, or undertook his Destruction by open Force, that they would endeavour to diminish and weaken the Affection the People bore him: For this

this Purpose, the best Heads in the Senate applied themselves to *Livius Drusus*, his Colleague. He was a Man whose Meaning was always honest ; of a Capacity just, but not very great ; one that, without siding with either Party, would have been glad to have reconcil'd their contrary Interests, and to have united the two Factions. But a Design of such Difficulty, wherein Men's private Regards sway'd them more than the public Good, was above his Ability or Interest. The Senators that address'd themselves to him, attack'd him on his weak Side, and flatter'd his Vanity with the Glory of giving Peace to the Republic. *Drusus* joyfully offer'd his Assistance. " You are not de-fired," said those crafty Senators, " to declare against the Interests of the People, who have chosen you for one of their Magistrates ; nor even, like *Octavius*, to oppose the Novelties which *Caius* daily introduces. The Senate has formed a nobler Design, and requires your Assistance, and the Intervention of the best Tribune that the Common-wealth ever had, only to restore Peace and Union among the several Orders of the State. Propose, if you think fit, Laws still more advantageous to the People, if such can be, than those of *Caius* ; the Senate will approve every Thing ; the only Favour they desire of you, is to declare publickly, that the Laws and Edicts which you offer were suggested to you by the Senate ; and to add, that they have no View but the Good and Prosperity of their Fellow-Citizens."

This dextrous Turn had all the Success that they could wish. *Drusus*, who saw nothing in this Design, contrary either to his own Interest, or to that of the People, came into all the Measures that they put him upon. If *Caius* proposed to send two Colonies into two Cities, dependent upon the Republic, *Drusus*, to gratify a greater Number

*The Senate
sets Drusus
against
Caius.*

ber of poor Families, was for re-peopling twelve, and for sending into each of those Cities three thousand of the poorer Citizens. CAIUS having adjudg'd some uncultivated Lands to *Plebeians*, and having charg'd those Lands with certain Rents and Services, *Drusus*, refining as it were upon his Art of flattering the People, gave to some poor Families the same Quantity of the like Lands, free and clear of all Deductions. Lastly, CAIUS having, as we have said before, procured to the *Latins* the Right of Suffrage in Elections, *Drusus*, by a new Decree, ordain'd that, those People being now made Citizens of the Republic, it should be no longer lawful for a *Roman* Captain to cause a Soldier of that Nation to be beaten with Rods. *Drusus*, upon every Proposal, never fail'd to declare, as he was engag'd to do, that he was only the Mouth of the Senate, who had charg'd him to make his Report thereof to the Assembly. This Conduct softened the Minds of the People; the Senate was not so much hated as formerly; the two Parties seem'd to be drawing to an Union. *Drusus* pleas'd the Multitude by the Merit of Novelty, and shar'd the Power of CAIUS. This was the Intention of the Senate. CAIUS could not, without a secret Concern, perceive that this Rival was getting from him Part of the Favour of the People. He called him the Slave of the Senate. This Jealousy of his displeas'd the best among the *Plebeians*; and his Behaviour in Relation to *Scipio Æmilianus*, his Brother-in-Law, made them doubt, whether his Virtue was so pure as it had hitherto been thought.

*Animosity
of the
Scipio's
against the
Gracchi.*

We have already said, that his Mother *Cornelia* was Daughter to *Scipio Africanus*, or the first *Scipio*; and that the second *Scipio*, the Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, but adopted into that *Patrician* Family, had married *Sempronia*, the Sister of the two *Gracchi*. But, notwithstanding this double Alliance, the Difference and Emulation of the

two Parties, and the Animosity between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, upon Account of the Division of the Lands, had always prevented a true Union between those two Families. The *Scipio's*, upon more than one Occasion, had declared themselves the Enemies of the *Sempronian* Family; the *Gracchi* even complained, that the young *Scipio* did not give his Wife *Sempronia* good Usage, upon Pretence of her Sterility; and, in general, all the *Scipio's* that had opposed *Tiberius's* Laws, were suspected of having had a Hand in the Death of that Tribune.

This perpetual Quarrel in the Republic, which, *Caius* as we have seen, reviv'd from Age to Age, and passed from Father to Son, broke out with more Animosity than ever, after the Death of the elder *Gracchus*. *CAIUS* always kept close to the Plans and Designs of his Brother; and, not satisfy'd with having taken from the Senate its Tribunals and Authority, he undertook to strip the chief Families of *Rome* of those conquer'd Lands, which it is true they had most of them usurp'd, but which they justify'd by a Possession almost as ancient as the Foundation and Establishment of the Commonwealth itself.

CAIUS thought he ow'd this great Sacrifice to the *Manes* of his Brother, and that it concern'd his Honour to push the Execution of Laws, which to obtain had cost him his Life.

He associated in his Designs *Fulvius Flaccus*, a Consular Person, but a Man of no Probity, and base Manners, and whose Friendship and Correspondence did Prejudice to his Reputation. And *Papirius Carbo*, Tribune of the People, a bold seditious Man, offer'd his Assistance, in hopes to make himself considerable by his public Adherence to the Party of *CAIUS*. That Tribune got them nam'd with himself for *Triumvirs* in the Partition of the Lands. The Commission could not be given

given to Persons of a more active enterprizing Temper; all three declar'd Enemies to the Senate, and extravagant Flatterers of the very basest of the People.

These *Triumvirs*, no sooner saw themselves authoriz'd by a public Decree, but they cited, by Sound of Trumpet, all the Detainers of those Lands, to bring before their Tribunal, the Titles they held them by, with an exact Account of what Quantity they possessed, to enable them to judge of those who came within the Case of the *Lex Licinia*, and that enjoy'd above five hundred Acres. There was hardly any of the Grandees in *Rome* but what possessed a larger Quantity; nay, and most of them were engag'd in Law-Suits about the Bounds of their Usurpations. These Men, being grown more powerful than is convenient in a Common-wealth, armed publickly, and put Soldiers upon their Lands to defend their Possession; and those who were not quite so audacious, implor'd the Protection of the young *Scipio*, the greatest *Roman* of his Time. But, as much as he was respected by his Countrymen, he durst not venture to set himself against the People, or attack directly the Laws of the *Gracchi*, his Brothers-in-Law. He took a more artful Way to elude, at least, the Execution of them. He represented, with a great deal of Cunning, in an Assembly, that the *Triumvirs* had been nam'd, only to examine, whether there were any Citizens, that, contrary to the Laws, possessed above five hundred Acres of Land; to distribute what exceeded that Quantity among poor Citizens; and that their Commission and Power were confined to those two Articles. He added, that, before they proceeded to this Inquisition, it was necessary to know the fixed and certain Bounds of every Man's Inheritance. But that the Proprietors, having various Pretensions upon the Bounds of each other, the Cogni-

Scipio
crosses
Caius's
Measures.

zance and Judgment of those reciprocal Pretensions, exceeded the Power of the *Triumvirs*, and required other Judges, or, at least, a more extensive Commission.

The Proposal passed by Plurality of Voices. *Scipio* had the Address and Interest to get this Part of the Commission out of the Hands of the *Triumvirs*, and to procure it for *Tuditanus*, who was then Consul, and who, under a seeming Indifference for either Party, conceal'd an entire Devotion to the Senate, and the Interests of the Great. That Magistrate, to impose upon the People, labour'd some Time with a great deal of Application, in examining every Man's Pretensions, and regulating the mutual Bonds of their Inheritances. The *Triumvirs* with Pleasure saw him proceed in his Work, hoping he would soon enable them to execute their Commission; but some Time afterwards he quitted *Rome* abruptly, upon Advice which he caused to be brought, that his Presence was necessary in *Illyrium*, where the *Romans* were then making War. His Absence left all those Law-Suits undecided, and consequently suspended the Function of the *Triumvirs*, who could never forgive *Scipio* his having overthrown their Designs, and vacated their Commission. They reproach'd him in the Assemblies, that, though he owed his whole Glory to the *Roman* People, and had receiv'd two Consulates successively, contrary to all Laws, by their Means, when the Senate and Grandees oppos'd him; yet now, in Favour of those imperious Men, he was not asham'd to stand up against the Establishment of the *Agrarian* Laws, so necessary for the Subsistence of the poor People, and seal'd with the Blood of *Tiberius*.

And hereupon *Carbo*, that audacious Tribune, mention'd above, call'd upon him in a full Assembly to declare what he thought of the Manner in which *Tiberius* had been slain; meaning by this
enluring

Ap. Alex.
de Bell.
Civ. L. 1.

falls on
Scipio.

ensnaring Question to bring him under a Necessity of returning such an Answer, as must make him odious either to the People or the Senate.

But *Scipio*, without being at all at a Loss, boldly reply'd, That, if *Tiberius* had indeed a Design to make himself the Tyrant of his Country, he thought his Death but just. The whole Body of the People, who adored his Memory, showing their Indignation by great Out-cries: *To what Purpose is all this Noise?* says *Scipio*, with that Air of Greatness which was so natural to him. *Do you think your Clamours will terrify a General, whom the Noise of so many Armies of Enemies could never daunt?* *CAIUS* did not at all concern himself in this Dispute: He kept a sullen Silence. But *Fulvius Flaccus*, a Man of a hot violent Temper, gave *Scipio* a great many Threats; and next Morning that illustrious *Roman* was found dead in his Bed, with Marks about his Neck, of the Violence which had been used upon him.

*Death of
Scipio;
supposed to
be murder'd.*

Nobody knew whom to charge with so great a Crime. The first Suspicions fell upon *Flaccus*, who the Day before had threaten'd him with the Resentment of the People. Others imagined, that so daring an Act must proceed from some nearer Hand. They laid it to *Cornelia*, the Mother of the *Gracchi*; and reported, that her Daughter *Sempronia* herself, the Wife of *Scipio*, to get rid of the Enemy of her Family, and of a Husband that despised her, had in the Night convey'd the Murderers into his Chamber.

The People, for Fear *CAIUS* might be found an Accomplice in the Crime, would not suffer any Search to be made into it. He himself stirr'd not in the least to discover the Criminals; and that Magistrate, so remarkable for his Severity, that affected the Title of Defender of the Laws, and the avowed Foe to any that made the least Attempt upon the public Liberty, did now, in the
Assassination

Affassination of so great a Man, preserve a scandalous Silence, which justly made it be suspected, that either he or his Friends did not think themselves sufficiently innocent to endure too strict an Enquiry,

This Silence in CAIUS, which was yet more criminal than the Murder itself, occasion'd the public Complaints of all the Nobility, and made the best Men even among the People entertain violent Suspicions against his Virtue. To remove the Memory of so black a Crime, and employ Mens Thoughts, CAIUS made use of his Colleague, *Q. Rubrius*, whom he put upon proposing new Designs. That *Tribune* advised the People to rebuild *Carthage*, Carthage rebuilt. which *Scipio* had destroy'd, and to send a strong Colony thither. CAIUS back'd this Proposal with all his Might, and omitted nothing in all Assemblies that could bring the People into this Enterprize: He cry'd up the Fertility of the Soil, the Neighbourhood of the Sea, the Safety and Conveniency of its Port: And as he imagined in the present Sate of Things, his Absence from *Rome*, and that of *Fulvius Flaccus*, would not be unserviceable in destroying those Reports, so injurious to his Glory, he solicited and obtained the Conduct of this Expedition, which was intrusted to him by a public Decree, conjointly with *Flaccus*, suspected, like himself, of *Scipio's* Death. Vel. Pa-
terc. l. 1.
Plut. in
Gracchis.
App. de
Bell. Civ.
l. 1.

They carried over into *Africa* six thousand *Roman* Families, which they put into the Possession of *Carthage*, and its Territory. But while he was busied in restoring the Walls, or, to speak more truly, in demolishing *Scipio's* Trophies, *Drusus*, who acted only by the Impression of the Senate's Counsels, took Advantage of his Absence, to make *Flaccus* more odious. He revived all the Circumstances that could make him suspected of *Scipio's* Murder. This was an indirect Attack upon CAIUS himself, who had such strict Ties with that Sen- Caius and
Flaccus
suspected.

nator. *Drusus*, in all his Discourses, represented him as a Man of a violent and seditious Temper, and that sought his own Promotion in nothing but the Troubles of the State. He was even accused of having endeavoured to induce the Nations of *Italy* to a revolt. There was a Talk of a prosecuting him for these Crimes. The Credit and Esteem of *Caius*, his Protector, decreas'd in his Absence: The People began to forget him, and placed their whole Confidence in *Drusus*, whose Reputation was clear, and his Conduct perfectly moderate. *Caius* judging of the Diminution of his Interest by the Danger his Friend was in, hasten'd to *Rome*; to re-animate his Faction. Upon his Arrival, he even left his House, which was on *Mount-palatine*, and chose a Lodging near the Market, in a Part of the City inhabited by an infinite Number of the poorest People. He then proposed new Laws, which all tended to the weakening of the Senate's Authority. He was to get them received in the next Assembly; but as he was doubtful of the Success, and his Party seemed neither so numerous, nor so full of Warmth as he used to find them, he sent for to *Rome* great Numbers of those People of *Italy*, for whom he had procured the Right of Suffrage.

The Senate, very much disturb'd at this Croud of Strangers, which filled the City, and who seemed to come thither to dispose of the Government as they pleased, made use of the Authority of the Consul *Fannius*, to order all that were not Inhabitants of *Rome* to depart the City forthwith. *Caius*, that the People might not perceive the Diminution of his Credit, though, since his Return from *Africa*, he found himself much less regarded, publish'd a Decree directly to the contrary Effect: He encouraged those Strangers to remain in the City, and promised them the Assistance of the Laws, and the Protection of the People, against the Consul's Order.

*Caius's
Credit is
diminish'd.*

Never-

Nevertheless, he afterwards saw *Fannius's* Lic-tors drag to Prison one of those Strangers, his Friend, and his Guest, whom they seized on Purpose to affront him. He look'd upon his Disgrace, and the ill Treatment they gave him, without opposing it; either that he feared to raise a Civil-war, or that finding his Power decay'd, since the Murder of *Scipio*, he was unwilling to let the Weakness of his Party become public. And he had the Mortification to see himself abandon'd by the very Heads of it, upon Occasion of a Dispute which he had with the other *Tribunes*, his Colleagues, who, before this Difference, were always very firm in his Interests.

The Grandees of *Rome* had caused Scaffolds to be built in the *Forum* for their more convenient seeing the public Spectacles, and a Combat of Gladiators that was to be fought there; and the Workmen had built a great Number besides, upon their own Account, which they had let out to rich Families. *CAIUS* passing through the *Forum*, ^{*Caius's*} and seeing it clogg'd up with all those Scaffolds, ^{*Quarrel*} ordered them to be taken down, that the People ^{*with his*} might have more Room, and see the Sports Free-^{*Col-*}leagues. cost. The Grandees had Recourse to the Authority of his Colleagues, who out of Complaisance to the chief Families in *Rome*, order'd that the Scaffolds should stand; nay, it is not very certain whether those Magistrates of the People had not secretly a Share in the Profit of those Scaffolds that were let out to private People. *CAIUS*, who could not bear any Opposition in what he thought just, took along with him that Multitude of Workmen that were at his Devotion; and the Night before the Games, he caused all those Scaffolds to be demolished, and the Materials to be carried away; so that the Place was free for next Day. The People admir'd his Resolution and Cou-

*Excluded
from the
Tribune-
ship.*

rage; but his Colleagues being vexed, that he should carry every Thing thus with a high Hand, and jealous withal of the Sway he had obtained in Rome, quite broke off from his Interests: They privately joined in with his Enemies to exclude him from the Tribuneship: And in the following *Comitia*, where CAIUS should have been elected *Tribune* for the third Time, the People having given him the greater Number of Voices, those *Tribunes*, who by their Office were to count the Votes, to be revenged of him, where suspected to have suppressed Part of the Billets, and made a false Report of the Scrutiny; and by this Fraud CAIUS was shut out from the Tribuneship.

*Opimius
set against
Caius.*

The Senate no sooner saw him brought back to a private Condition, but they resolved to abolish all his Laws, and gave the Care of it to the Consul *Opimius*, the very Man that during his *Prætorship*, endeavoured to involve CAIUS in the Sedition of *Fregellæ*. This Consul, as we have already said, was a declared Enemy to the *Gracchi*; a Man of a haughty Temper, proud of his Birth and Dignity, despising the People, and who, without concerning himself about the Formalities of the Laws, seemed resolved to put an End to this great Difference, by the Death of CAIUS.

He began with abrogating himself the Decree that ordained the Restoration of *Carthage*, and convened a General Assembly to suppress all the other Laws; and, that he might be strong enough to support his Party, he brought into the City a Body of *Candiot* Troops, that were in the Pay of the Common-wealth.

These he used as a Guard; he went no where without being attended with these Foreign Soldiers, and surrounded by all those *Grandeers* of Rome, whose Interest it was to suppress the Laws of the *Gracchi*. These *Grandeers* were themselves constantly attended with a Crowd of Servants and Clients,

Clients, whom Custom kept in their Train and Obedience.

The Consul, thus guarded, publicly insulted CAIUS where-ever he met him: He affronted him with opprobrious Language, to produce a Quarrel, and so to get an Occasion of falling upon him, and killing him. CAIUS, more moderate, or finding that he was not the stronger, over-look'd these Outrages. But *Flaccus*, less patient, and enraged at the Insolence of the Great, made it so plain to him, that he was losing the whole Glory of his two Tribuneshps, by a Moderation, which his Enemies look'd upon to be nothing but Cowardice, that he at length resolved to oppose Force with Force.

He called about him the most zealous *Plebeians*, and at the same Time brought into the City a great Number of *Latins*, and other Inhabitants of *Italy*, disguised like Reapers, who came as Men wanting Work and Employment. All *Rome* was divided between these two Parties. That of CAIUS seemed the stronger, because it was the more numerous, and that he govern'd the People as he pleased. But in the other was seen the chief Magistrate, a Legal Authority, and even more Conduct, and Designs better concerted.

At length the Day being come, which was to decide whether the Laws of the *Gracchi* should subsist or be abolish'd, the two Factions repaired very early in the Morning to the Capitol. The Consul, according to Custom, began with sacrificing to the Gods. It is said, that one of his Lictors, named *Quintus ATTILLUS*, having taken upon him to represent to CAIUS the Misfortunes he must occasion to his Country, if he still continued obstinate in maintaining the Laws which he had contriv'd; and that CAIUS having shown by a Gesture of Displeasure and Contempt, that he did not care to be documented by so mean an Officer,

*A Lictor
kill'd.*

the Lictor was killed upon the Spot by some *Plebeians*. Other Historians relate this Fact after a different Manner. They tell us, that this Lictor was the Cause of his own Death, by his Insolence; and that as he was carrying the Entrails of the Victim which the Consul had sacrific'd, he cried out aloud to *Flaccus*, and those of his Party, *Make way there, evil Citizens as you are*. They add, that to these injurious Words, he enjoined an Action of the Hand dishonest and contemptuous; and that these Latter, to punish him for this Insult, stabbed him with the Pins of their Table-Books, and slew him upon the Spot.

The People seem'd not to approve this hasty Action; and *Caius*, who foresaw the Consequences, was yet more concerned. He upbraided his Adherents, that they had now given their Enemies the Pretence, they had so long wanted, for shedding of Blood.

Accordingly the Senate immediately assembled, and decreed upon the Death of an ordinary Lictor, as upon the greatest Calamity of the Republic, *That the Consuls should take Care the State suffer'd no Prejudice*. By this extraordinary Decree, the Consuls received from the Senate the most extensive Authority. They had Power from this Ordinance to raise as many Troops as they thought proper; to use any Means whatsoever for the quelling of rebellious Citizens; to declare War against the Enemy; in a Word, they were invested with absolute Power, both in the City and in the Army.

*Opimius
arms a-
gainst
Caius.*

Opimius, by Virtue of this Decree, commanded all the Senators and Knights to take Arms, and to appear the next Day at the *Forum*, with each at least two Slaves armed. *Flaccus*, on his Side, endeavour'd to raise the Mob, and to make the People take Arms: But he met with nothing but a general Consternation in every Man's Face, and an universal Dejection of Mind. *Caius*, as he went Home,

Home, stopp'd in the *Forum* at the Statue of his Father, which was erected there; and looking at it mournfully, without uttering a Word, the Tears were seen to run down from his Eyes, as foreseeing with Grief, the Blood that must be spilt in his Quarrel the next Day. Those that accompanied him, moved with Compassion, urged to one another, that they should be the basest of Wretches to abandon so great a Man, who was in Danger only for their Sakes. Most of them spent the Night at his Door, rather to shew their Zeal and Affections, than in Hopes of being of much Service to him. *L. Flaccus* employed that Time in gathering together their Friends, and the Chief of the People. He got a pretty considerable Number to take Arms, and Day no sooner appeared, but he took Possession of *Mount Aventine*.

CAIUS at the same Time made ready to follow him; but would not arm himself, not for want of Courage, but to avoid coming to Extremities with his Fellow-Citizens. He put on nothing but his ordinary Gown, and only took under it a short Sword to defend himself, if he were attacked. As he was just going out of his House, his Wife, all in Tears, ran to stop him. "Whither goest thou, *Caius*," says she, embracing him tenderly? "What is thy Design? And why dost thou leave thy House so early? Can'st thou be ignorant that the Murderers who slew thy Brother, are preparing the same Fate for thee; and that thou hast no Defenders, but a vile Rabble, who will basely leave thee at the Sight of the least Danger? Consider that *Rome* is no longer what she was: Virtue is banished from within her Walls; every Thing here is decided by Violence. And what Confidence can'st thou place in the Authority of the Laws, or even in the Justice of the Gods; those Gods that, either thro' Blindness or Impotence, could suffer *Tiberius* to be murder'd?"

CAIUS, pierced to the Heart with Grief and not having Power to answer her, broke away from between her Arms, and went to join *Flaccus*, who had put himself at the Head of their Party. Here he found nothing but a Multitude of People, without Order, and with more Fury than Stength. The Senate, on the contrary, and the whole Body of the Nobility, attended by their Clients and Domesticks, formed a very powerful Party. CAIUS perceiving he was in no Condition to withstand them, prevailed upon *Flaccus*, that a Deputy should be sent to the Consul, to desire Peace, and to conjure him to spare the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens. They gave this Commission to the youngest of *Flaccus's* Sons, who presented himself before the Consul with a *Caduceus* in his Hand, and proposed a Reconciliation between the two Parties.

Many Senators of good Intentions were for accepting of this Proposal, and for coming to a Conference with the Heads of the Party of the People. But *Opimius*, making an Estimate of his Weakness by his Submission, gave Answer to the Son of *Flaccus*, That there was no other Reconciliation to be hop'd for, but that those who were in the Fault, should yield themselves to the Judgment of the Senate, and the Rigour of the Laws. At the same Time, he sent back the Child with a Prohibition, enforced with the most grievous Threats, never to appear again before him, unless his Father and his Adherents submitted to whatsoever the Senate should please to decree concerning them. Besides this, he set a Price upon CAIUS's Head, which was, its Weight in Gold to any one that should bring it in; and to weaken and divide his Party, he proscribed by Sound of Trumpet all that sided with him, with Promise however of Pardon to those who should leave him immediately.

This

This Proscription had all the Effect which the Consul could hope from it. Most of the common People that had followed *Flaccus* by the Encouragement of one another, grew afraid ; slipt away one by one, and deserted their Leaders: They had scarce above four or five thousand Men left with them. *CAIUS* not thinking himself strong enough to withstand the adverse Party ; and, perhaps, to prevent Effusion of Blood, was for going in Person to answer for his Conduct to the Senate: But his Adherents would not suffer him, fearing to be deprived of their Leader ; and chose rather to send the young Son of *Flaccus* once more to desire Peace.

Opimius, without so much as hearing him, caused him to be seized for returning contrary to his Prohibition ; and without giving the People Time to think what to do, he marched against them, and charged them with his *Candiots*, whose Arrows soon dispersed the Multitude. Then the Senators and Knights falling Sword in Hand upon the Rout, slew a great Number : It is said, that there fell three thousand of the People. *Flaccus*, in this Disorder, hid himself in the Ruins of an old House, where being found, he was slain with his eldest Son. *CAIUS* retired into the Temple of *Diana*, where he would have killed himself ; but *Pomponius* and *Licinius*, two of his Friends, prevented him, and forced him to endeavour to make his Escape. It is said that, before he left that Temple, he besought the Goddess, that the *Roman* People who had so basely deserted their Protectors, might never be freed from their Slavery. He then betook himself to Flight, with his two faithful Friends, and a Slave, named *Philocrates*. His Enemies pursued him close ; but coming to a Bridge, *Pomponius* and *Licinius*, to assist his Flight, stood their Ground Sword in Hand, and for some Time stopped the Pursuers, who could gain no
Passage

Passage till they had killed those two generous Romans.

Caius
kill'd.

CAIUS had Time to get into a little Wood, consecrated to the Furies; but finding it was impossible to escape his Enemies, who had surrounded the Grove, we are told, that he caused *Philocrates* to kill him; and that the faithful Slave afterwards slew himself upon his Master's Body. Others say, that CAIUS being overtaken by those that pursued him, *Philocrates* embracing his Master, covered him with his Body; and that they could not get at him till they had slain that faithful Servant. They cut off Caius's Head, and the Murderers stuck it at the End of a Spear. A certain Man, named *Seprimuleius*, a Creature of *Opimius*, stole it from those who carried it thus like a Trophy; and having privately taken out the Brain, filled it with melted Lead, to make it more heavy, and then delivered it to the Consul for seventeen Pounds and a Half of Gold.

Opimius's
Cruelty.

The Body was thrown into the *Tyber*, with those of *Flaccus*, and above three thousand Citizens that fell in this Commotion. The Consul, whose implacable Hatred was not yet assuaged with all this Blood, threw into Prison all the Friends and Adherents of the *Gracchi* that he could discover, where they were put to Death; their Goods were confiscated, and their Widows were forbid to wear Mourning for them. *Licina*, the Wife of Caius, was even deprived of her Dowry; and *Opimius*, whose Rage still pursued the miserable Remains of that Party, extended his Inhumanity even to the poor Child that had been sent to him with Words of Peace, and caused him to be put to Death in Prison.

Ap. Alex.
de Bello.
Civ. l. 1.

This cruel Magistrate, after having shed so much Blood, was not ashamed to build a Temple to *Concord*; as if he had by pacific Measures brought his Fellow-Citizens to a Union. The People

People never saw this Temple without Horror, and looked upon it as a Monument of his Pride and Cruelty. But *Opimius*, without being at all concerned at this impotent Displeasure, thought of nothing but how to extinguish the very Memory of the Laws of the *Gracchi*. It was to this Purpose that a *Tribune* of the People, who, in all Probability, was bribed by him, and the other *Grande*s of *Rome*, represented in an Assembly, That he met with unsurmountable Difficulties in the Inquiry after, and Partition of, the Lands; but that to relieve the People, he would take Care that every Proprietor of such Lands should pay a certain Rent proportionable to the Quantity he possessed; and that the Money arising from these Rents, should be distributed among the poor Citizens, and those especially who enjoy'd no Share of those public Lands. He added, that, in Consideration of this Payment, he was of Opinion, that those who possessed such Lands, should be acknowledged the lawful Proprietors of them, with a Discharge from all Claims for the future; and that they should be allowed afterwards to sell and dispose of those Inheritances, but always subject to the Rent that should be agreed upon.

*The Laws
of the
Gracchi
abolish'd.*

*Idem.
Ap. ibid.*

The People, seduced with the Hopes of this Advantage, and deceived by their *Tribune*, passed this Law, which absolutely destroyed that of the *Gracchi*. The rich Citizen, no longer fearing any Inquisition, extended, without Scruple, the Bounds of his Domain. They strove now who should first purchase the Inheritance of a poor Neighbour. All the Lands came into the Possession of the Great; and the meaner sort of People relapsed into the Poverty which the two *Gracchi* had strove to prevent.

In a short Time, the Rents which were to be paid for their Use, were no longer talk'd of. The Rich, and the *Grande*s of *Rome*, suppressed, as
it

*The great
ones seize
the Lands.*

it were by Agreement among themselves, this Mark of the Nature and Dependance of those Lands. Another *Tribune*, no less false to his Party than him we just now mentioned, eluded insensibly the Observation of this Part of the Law, pretending that the Great paid a sufficient Tribute to the Republic, by the Services they did her in the Magistracies, with which they were invested. And it was by this Chain of Artifices join'd to Force and Violence, that the more Powerful at length remained in Possession of these public Lands, which they had made their Prey, and usurped as their own particular Conquest.

We shall be the less surpriz'd at this, if we consider, that the *Plebeians* now no longer found Protection in the Animosity of the *Tribunes* against the *Patricians* and Nobles. Those two Factions, who were always before kept asunder by the Distinction of their Birth, were now turned into two Parties, merely of Rich and Poor, of whatever Order they were born; and the poor Citizens, abandoned by the rich *Plebeians*, who joined in with the Senate, also saw themselves basely betrayed by their own Magistrates, who were Accomplices in the Usurpation of those Lands, which the People claimed in vain. There never arose, after the unhappy End of the *Gracchi*, any *Tribune* so impartial or so generous as to dare publicly to undertake their Defence. Avarice, private Views, Desire of raising themselves by the particular Favour of the Great, had taken the Place of Zeal for the public Good. Pride and Luxury succeeded to that noble public Spirit, and that Love of their Country, to which *Rome* owed her Greatness and Power.

In a Corruption almost general, the Affair of *Jugurtha* awakened the People out of the Dejection and Consternation into which the Loss of the *Gracchi* had thrown them; and they gladly laid hold

hold of this Opportunity to revenge themselves upon the Consul *Opimius*, and to punish the sordid Avarice of the chief Men in the Republic.

Massinissa, the famous *African* Prince, illustrious for his Friendship with the *Scipio*'s, and so noted for his inviolable Firmness to the Party of the *Romans*, had received from them the Kingdom of *Numidia*, in Return for the Services he had done them against the *Carthaginians*. At his Death he left his Kingdom, with the Protection of the *Romans*, to *Micipsa*, who succeeded him. This Prince had two Sons; the eldest named *Adherbal*, and the younger *Hiempsal*. He had besides, a Nephew named *JUGURTHA*, Son of his Brother *Ma-* *Jugurtha.*
nastabal, who died before *Massinissa*: But that old Prince had left him in an obscure Condition; and would never own him for his Grandson, because he was not born in lawful Marriage.

Micipsa seeing him of a comely Make and promising Aspect, took him out of his Obscurity, and had him educated with the Princes his Sons, tho' he was older than they. *JUGURTHA*, (says *Salust*) perfectly well answered the Intentions of the King his Uncle, and the Instructions of his Masters. None of the young Noblemen of his Age excelled him either in drawing the Bow, managing the Horse, or disputing the Prize in the Race. If he went a Hunting, and met with a Lion, or any other wild beast, he immediately pressed to the Head of the Hunters, to give him the first Wound; and when, after having slain him, he received Praises for his Boldness, either through Pride or Modesty, he contemned those Kind of Victories, as very far beneath (said he) what ought to be expected from the Courage and Valour of a Prince. A Character of him.

The King of *Numidia*, at first rejoiced in the good Success of his Care; and looked with Pleasure

ture upon the young *Jugurtha*, as the Ornament of his Court. But it was not long before there was perceived in that Prince an inordinate Ambition, guided by a Genius artful, insinuating, dextrous and deceitful. *Micipsa's* Joy was now turned into Fear, especially when he considered his own great Age, and the Youth of his Sons; and he saw with Grief, that he had nourish'd in his House a secret Enemy, and perhaps, the future Destroyer of it. To ease himself of these Apprehensions, he resolved to send him to the War, in Hopes the Chance of Arms might remove him. He put him at the Head of a Body of Troops which he sent to *Scipio Æmilianus*, who was then besieging *Numantia* in Spain.

*Year of
Rome,
630.*

*His first
Cam-
paigns.*

But *Jugurtha* found Means to draw several Advantages from a Design that was laid only to destroy him. He began with winning and securing to his Interests, both the Soldier and Officer that was under his Command, by Favours, Presents, and, above all, by surprizing Acts of Valour. The *Romans* themselves, such good Judges of this Kind of Merit, agreed, that it was impossible for a young Prince to have more Courage, or indeed more Knowledge at those Years in the Art of War. This general Esteem gained him great Numbers of Friends, among whom he entered into very strict Engagements, with such Officers as he thought had most Interest in the Senate, and at *Rome*. The cunning *African*, who foresaw of how much Use the Credit of those principal Officers might be to him in raising him to his Hopes, forgot no Methods to engage them in his Interests. He won them by repeated Presents; and those mercenary Souls, to procure themselves more, encouraged him in his Ambition. They insinuated to him, that, without minding Seniority of Birth, he ought, after *Micipsa's* Death, to lay open Claim to his Crown; and that, provided he wanted not Money, he

he would never want Friends or powerful Protectors in the Senate, where most of the Suffrages were little better than venal.

Scipio, inform'd of these Cabals, and angry at *Scipio's* their corrupting the Mind of the young Prince by *Advice to* such pernicious Maxims, took him aside, and ad- *Jugurtha*. vised him in a friendly Manner, never to seek the Friendship of the *Romans* any otherwise than by honourable Means, and Actions worthy of his Courage and Birth. He added, to let him see he was not ignorant of his most private Intrigues, that it was always dangerous to go about to purchase of a few particular Persons, that which belonged to the Public: That with so much Valour as he had shown, he could never want Crowns; but that if through a too greedy Thirst of reigning, he employed unworthy Means to attain it, he foretold him, as his Friend, that he would lose the very Money which he spent in corrupting of Voices; and that at length he would lose himself. *Jugurtha*, whose flexible and artful Mind easily assumed all Manner of Shapes, feign'd to be touch'd with these Remonstrances. He promised *Scipio* to improve by them, and after the End of the Campaign, he took his Leave of that General, who wrote in his Favour to the King of *Numidia*, that he was very well pleased with his Services; and that none could have showed more Courage and Conduct than he had done in all the Occasions wherein he had fought.

Jugurtha being returned into *Numidia*, with that Addition of Lustre which he received from the Glory he had acquired in the Army, and from the Friendship of the *Romans*, begins to lay the Foundation of his Greatness. He makes new Friends; he buys himself Creatures; gains Part of the Ministers; intimidates the rest; and at length finds Ways to have it insinuated to the old King, that he could not do a wiser Action, than to adopt him, in order to give his two Sons, as it were, a third Brother,

Brother, who would be a Guardian to them, and a Protector to the State. The weak old Man, whose Senses were enfeebled by his great Age, adopts him publicly. He flattered himself, that by so great a Favour, he had made sure of him whom he could not destroy. But he was no sooner expired, than *Jugurtha* made it evident, that Policy does not reckon Gratitude in the Number of the Virtues. Ambition and his own Interest made him turn against the Family of *Micipsa*, the very Power with which he had been invested only for its Protection. *Numidia* was now divided into three Principalities; and there reigned in the same Kingdom, and as it were on the same Throne, three Sovereigns independant of each other, though all three equally in the Dependence and under the Protection of the *Romans*. *Jugurtha*, who aspir'd to be sole Master of *Numidia*, resolved to rid himself of the two young Princes. He first lays Snares for the younger, whom he causes to be stabbed in his Bed: And this was the first Victim that he sacrific'd to his Ambition.

Adopted by
Micipsa.

His Ambition.

Jugurtha's War
against
Adherbal.

The elder, filled with Fear at so black an Action, immediately makes his Escape to the Province which had fallen to his Share; and though he was no Warrior, he arms with all Expedition, as well to defend himself against the Attempts of *Jugurtha*, as to revenge the Death of his Brother. *Jugurtha*, on his Part, makes Levies of Troops with equal Diligence. The whole Nation divides itself; every Man chuses his Side in this Civil War. The greater Number of *Numidian* Noblemen declare for *Adherbal*; but the best Soldiers and chief Officers adhere to *Jugurtha*. It soon comes to a Battle; *Adherbal* is defeated; and most of his Troops, after the Rout, list themselves under the Banners of his Enemy. The strongest Places open their Gates to the Conqueror. *Adherbal*, to save his Life, is forced to disguise himself; and

and that Prince, after having wander'd some Time about his own Dominions, like an unhappy Exile, at length escapes to the Territories of the Republic; from whence he repairs to *Rome*, to implore the Protection of the Senate.

The Presence of this young Prince, driven out of his Kingdom, and the Death of his Brother, murder'd by the Usurper's Order, rais'd a general Indignation, as well in the Senate, as among the People. The whole Talk at *Rome* was of the Necessity there was of sending an Army immediately into *Africa*, to punish *Jugurtha*. That Prince, who had his Emissaries at *Rome*, and who dreaded the Power and Resentment of the Republic, presently dispatch'd Ambassadors to justify his Conduct. He loaded them with rich Presents, and immense Sums of Money, with Orders to gain him Friends, and, as it were, to purchase whoever was to be sold. The *Numidian* Ambassadors were no sooner come to *Rome*, but they scatter'd Money on all Sides. Few Senators could resist them; most of the Grandees, being secretly gained themselves, gained over others. The Corruption became general; those Envoys found in the Avarice of the Nobility, a certain Refuge for their Master; and all the Deliberations of the Senate terminated in naming ten Commissioners who had Orders to repair to *Africa*, to take Cognizance of what had been done there; and, if they thought convenient, to make a new Division of *Micipsa's* Empire between *Jugurtha* and *Adherbal*.

The Head of this Commission was *OPIMIUS*, who had acquired great Credit and Esteem in the Senate, and among the Grandees of *Rome*, since the Death of *Caius*, and the Ruin of his Party. He was no sooner arrived in *Africa* with his Colleagues, but *Jugurtha*, who relied much more upon his Money than the Justice of his Cause, undertook to secure him by magnificent Presents.

That Magistrate, no less avaritious than cruel, sold him his Faith and Honour: His Colleagues were not more incorruptible. The Bargain being made, *Jugurtha* was found innocent. *Hiempsal* was made the Aggressor, and his Death represented as occasion'd by his own Rashness. The Division of *Micipsa's* Dominions was afterwards made upon the very plan proposed by *Jugurtha* himself; and the Commissioners, to the Scandal of the Roman Name, allotted him the strongest Places, and the richest Provinces, as a Reward for his Guilt and Corruption.

*Jugurtha
begins the
War a-
fresh.*

That ambitious Prince, after the Departure of the Commissioners, having now nothing more to fear from the Part of *Rome*, resolv'd to invade the Dominions of *Adberbal* by open Force. But as it was always necessary to have some little Appearance of Justice on his Side, he at first contented himself with making Inroads upon the Frontiers, in hopes to provoke the Resentment of *Adberbal*, and to draw him by those Insults to use Reprizals, whence he might have a Pretence to push the War with full Vigour; nay, and to justify it at *Rome*, if there were Occasion for so doing.

Adberbal, who knew himself to be his Inferior in Troops, and even in Capacity in the Art of War, chose rather to wink at these little injuries, than to expose himself to a declared and open War. *Jugurtha*, after having harrassed his Country for some Time, without being able to engage him to take up Arms, at length despises his Weakness; and, without seeking longer for any Pretences, he enters his Dominions at the Head of a powerful Army, besieges and takes the principal Towns, and makes himself Master of most of the Provinces.

After this there was no other Choice for *Adberbal* to make, but either to abandon his Kingdom a second Time; or, notwithstanding all Inequality of Forces, to resolve to defend it vigorously Sword

in

in Hand. That young Prince, by the Advice of his Ministers, determines to repel Violence by Violence. He assembles his Troops, makes new Levies, and at length brings an Army into the Field; but more considerable for its Number than Courage. He then marches against the Enemy to stop the Progress of his Arms.

Jugurtha, who had laid his Designs, suffers *Adherbal* to encamp without Opposition. He even feigns to be diffident of his own Strength, in order to increase his Confidence. They spend some Days without coming to any Engagement; but by the Advantage of a very dark Night, *Jugurtha* silently advances to *Adherbal's* Camp, attacks it on all Sides; carries the Intrenchments; and cuts in Pieces all that withstand him. He seeks every where for *Adherbal*, whom it was his principal Desire to destroy, in order to put an End to the War by one Blow. But that Prince had the Happiness in his Misfortunes, to escape the Fury of his Enemy. He no sooner beheld his Camp forced, but he threw *Adherbal* himself into a Town call'd *Cirta*, the Capital of his ^{flies into} Dominions, where he shut himself up with the broken Remains of his Army, and thence dispatch'd Ambassadors to *Rome*, to implore anew the Assistance of the Republic.

Jugurtha, who sought his Death as the chief Fruit of his Victory, follows him; comes before *Cirta* with his whole Army; invests the Place; presses it close; and swears he will never depart from before its Walls, till he is Master both of the Town, and of *Adherbal's* Person. That unhappy Prince, seeing himself upon the Brink of falling into the Hands of a merciless Enemy, dispatches Messenger after Messenger to *Rome*. The Senate, prepossessed by *Jugurtha's* Favourers, seems to doubt the Relation of these Ambassadors; and contents itself with sending three young *Romans* into *Africa*, to take an Account of what is doing

there ; and in case of War, to order the two *Numidian* Princes to lay down their Arms. *Jugurtha*, at their Arrival, amuses them first by continual Embassies ; and then seduces and corrupts them by considerable Bribes, disguis'd under the Name of Presents. His Agents, in the Audience which they obtain'd, affirm, that *Adherbal* had, both by open Force, and by base and secret Practices, attempted the Life of their Master, who had taken up Arms only upon the Necessity of a just Defence. The *Roman* Envoys, satisfy'd with these Reasons, which the *Numidian's* Money had rendered just, returned to *Rome*, while *Jugurtha* push'd on the Siege with fresh Vigour.

Adherbal
writes to
the Senate.

Adherbal, driven to extremity, writes again to the Senate, and conjures the *Romans*, by the Services of *Massinissa*, his Grandfather, to save at least his Life. *Dispose as you please of the Kingdom of Numidia*, says that weak Prince to them in his Letter ; *but suffer me not to fall into the Hands of a Tyrant, and of the Murderer of my Family.*

The honest Part of the Senate, and those who had not been corrupted by *Jugurtha's* Money, were of Opinion, that they ought not a Moment longer to defer sending an Army into *Africa*, to raise the Siege of *Cirta*, and to punish *Jugurtha* for not having paid Obedience to the Senate's first Orders. But his Friends, by bestirring themselves in his Behalf, hindered this Advice from being received, upon Pretence that such an Armament would put them to a needless Charge. They only proposed to send new Commissioners to *Africa*, to decide the Differences between the two Kings ; and this last Advice prevailed above the Honour

Prince of
the Senate ;
what it
was.

and Glory of the Republic. *Æmilius Scaurus* was placed at the Head of this Commission. He was Prince of the Senate ; that is to say, the Man whom the Censor, when he publicly read over the List of the Senators, named first ; which depended

depended upon the Choice of that Inspector of Manners. That honourable Title was usually never bestow'd but upon some old Senator, who had already been honour'd with the Consulate or Censorship, and he enjoy'd that Dignity and Preheminence as long as he lived.

Scaurus, illustrious in his Birth, a great Cap-^{Avarice of}tain, and an able Magistrate, but equally ambitious and covetous, had till now concealed those Faults under the Appearance of the contrary Virtues. Though Avarice was his ruling Passion, he had refused the Bribes offer'd him by *Jugurtha's* Agents, because they distributed them too publicly. This cunning Behaviour, his Age, his Dignity, his Services, made him the Person that was named for the Head of this Commission. He immediately crossed over into *Africa* with his Colleagues, and landed at *Utica*; from whence he sent *Jugurtha* an Account of his Commission, with the Senate's Orders to raise the Siege from before *Cirta* without Delay.

Jugurtha leaves his Troops at the Siege, and comes to the Commissioners. He protests, that nothing is more sacred to him than the Orders of the Senate; but at the same Time represents, that *Adherbal* had endeavoured to destroy him; that he attacked him at the Head of an Army; that for his Part, he took up Arms only to defend his Life and Dominions; that the *Romans* were too just to forbid him to do what the Law of Nature allow'd every Man; or to tie his Hands when he was attack'd by his Enemy. It was with such like Allegations, or rather with great Sums of Money, but privately dispers'd, that the faithless *African* found a Way to elude the Effect of that Commission. *Scaurus* and his Colleagues were not ashamed to return to *Rome*, without having obtained any Thing in the Behalf of *Adherbal*. The *Numidian* having got clear of the only Obstacle

that he feared, returns to the Siege, pushes it vigorously, and at length reduces *Adherbal*, rather by Famine than by Sword, to put himself into his Hands. That unfortunate Prince demanded no other Condition but the Preservation of his Life; and for the rest, referr'd himself to the Judgment of the Senate.

Adherbal
put to
Death.
Year of
Rome,
641.
Flor. 1. 3.
c. 1. Oros.
1, 5. c. 15.

Jugurtha promised any Thing. He was received then into the Place; but as soon as ever he saw it in his Power, he slaughter'd the *Numidian* Part of the Garrison. He spared only the *Italians*, probably out of Respect to the Republic; but as to *Adherbal*, he put him to Death with the most cruel Tortures. This new Murder being known at *Rome*, and the scandalous Prevarication of the Commissioners, raise a general Indignation. The People especially cried loudly in their Assemblies; that they had sold to that *Barbarian* the Blood of his Brother. The Senate fearing Impunity might at length provoke the People to a Sedition, decreed, notwithstanding all the Opposition of *Jugurtha's* Party, that *L. Bastia Calpurnius*, who was then Consul, should go over to *Africa*, at the Head of an Army, to reduce *Jugurtha* to Obedience. *Calpurnius* had Valour, and a great deal of Experience: But these noble Qualities were tarnish'd by a sordid Avarice; he seem'd to make War merely as a Trade, and only to get Money: He looked upon this *African* Expedition as a glorious Harvest; and no Methods of enriching himself were in his Mind shameful.

Avarice of
Calpurnius.

But as he was not ignorant that he had the *Roman* People to deal with, and *Tribunes* who might one Day call him to a severe Account for his Conduct, he had the Precaution to engage *Scaurus*, and some of the most considerable Senators, in this Expedition. He demanded them for his Lieutenants, under Pretence that he stood in Need of Persons so consummate in the Art of War; but at the Bottom,

Bottom, his only Design was to associate them in his Extortions and Plunderings, and to shelter himself under their Names and Credit against all Enquiry.

Nevertheless, it was not without great Surprize and Uneasiness, that *Jugurtha* heard the News of this Armament. He had always flatter'd himself, that *Adherbal's* Murder would cost him nothing but Money. He immediately dispatch'd his Son to *Rome*, as a Pledge of his Fidelity and Submission; and with him two Ambassadors with Part of his Treasure, with which they had Orders to purchase him additional Protectors. But *Jugurtha's* Crimes had made too much Noise for the Senate to wink at them any longer. In the Midst of a Corruption so general, and such as we have represented it, there still remained a Dignity in what related to public Affairs. Nobody could so much as take his Part openly, without dishonouring himself. Thus with unanimous Consent, his Son, and his Ambassadors, were ordered to depart from *Italy* in ten Days, unless they were come to give up the Kingdom of *Numidia*, and the Person of *Jugurtha* himself, to the Disposol of the Republic. This Decree was signified to them, and they were oblig'd to return, without so much as having enter'd the Gates of *Rome*.

As soon as the Levies were ready, *Calpurnius* order'd them to embark at *Rhegium*. They crossed from *Italy* into *Sicily*, and from *Sicily* into *Africa*. The Consul was no sooner arrived there, but he briskly attack'd *Jugurtha's* Dominions. His Troops spread themselves over the Country; they carry Fire and Sword wherever they come. He then forms Sieges, takes Towns, and makes Prisoners. To maintain his Reputation, or perhaps to raise his Price with the King of *Numidia*, he hotly prosecutes the War, and disperfes the Terror of his Arms on all Sides. The *Numidian* dreading

Jugurtha
obtains a
Peace.

Liv. Epit.
L. 64.

Year of
Rome,
642.

Memmi-
us's Speech
against the
Senate.

the Consequences of this War, had Recourse to his usual Weapons. He finds a Way to spread great Sums to the very Tent of the *Roman* General. Private Emmissaries strike the Bargain: *Scaurus* enters into this scandalous Negotiation, and shares *Jugurtha's* Money with *Calpurnius*. To blind the Public, they made a solemn Treaty. The King of *Numidia* seemingly submits to the Orders of the Senate; he delivers up his Towns, his Horses, his Elephants, and pays great Sums of Money. He seems to give himself wholly up to the Discretion of the *Romans*: He comes to the Camp without Guards, or any other Mark of his Dignity; but he had taken the Precaution to have Hostages given him for his safe Return. And after the General of the *Romans* had withdrawn his Army out of his Dominions, he again enter'd into Possession of all his Places. They sent him back for Money, his very Horses and Elephants; and by Means of this false Peace, he was left to a quiet Enjoyment of the Fruit of his Guilt, and of *Adherbal's* Murder. This new Prostitution was heard at *Rome* with no less Shame than Sorrow. Every Body complained, that the Majesty of the *Roman* People was violated.

Memmius, one of the Tribunes of the People, hence took Occasion to fall upon the Senate. "Integrity," says he in a full Assembly, "is quite lost in that Order; there is no Justice left among them; Money is the Tyrant of *Rome*; and the People have but too often found, that the Gracchi and Nobles have no other Deity. They make a public Trafic of their Faith and Honour. The Glory and Interests of the State are become Articles of Commerce. The Majesty of the Empire has been betray'd; the Republic has been sold in the Army, and in *Rome* itself. *Opimius*, the Murderer of *Caius*, the Butcher of three thousand of his Fellow Citizens, that Tyrant

“ Tyrant of his Country, while his Hands were
 “ yet soiled with the Blood of the People, and of
 “ their Tribunes, has filled them with the Gold
 “ and Silver of the perfidious *Jugurtha*. *Cal-*
 “ *purnius* and *Scaurus* are perhaps not more inno-
 “ cent. We are told, that the *Numidian* has yielded
 “ himself up to the Republic; that he has deliver-
 “ ed up his Places, his Troops, and his Elephants.
 “ Convince us of the Truth of this Assertion;
 “ make *Jugurtha* come to *Rome*. If it be true
 “ that he has submitted indeed, he will obey your
 “ Orders; and if he does not obey them, you may
 “ easily judge that what they call a Treaty, is no-
 “ thing but a Collusion between that crafty Prince
 “ and our Generals; a Treaty that has produced
 “ nothing but Impunity of his Crimes to him,
 “ scandalous Riches to those who were intrusted
 “ with the Senate’s Commission, and an eternal
 “ Dishonour to the Republic.”

This Discourse stirs up the public Animosity to *Opimius*
 the highest Degree. *Opimius* is summoned before ^{banish’d.}
 the Assembly of the People. He undergoes his Trial,
 and is banish’d from *Rome* by a solemn Decree.
 The Memory of his Cruelties, says *Velleius Patercu-*
lus, was so strong, that not one *Plebeian* had Com-
 passion on his Misfortune; and he was obliged,
 adds *Plutarch*, to pass his old Age in the Dishonour
 and Shame which he had drawn upon himself by
 his Avarice and Corruption.

Cassius, who was now *Prætor*, by Virtue of the *Jugurtha*
 same Decree of the People, went over to *Africa*, ^{at Rome.}
 to bring *Jugurtha* to *Rome*. He gave him for
 his Safeguard the public Faith. But that Prince
 placed more Confidence in his Money; and he
 was no sooner arrived, but he gained by rich Pre-
 sents a Tribune of the People named *Bæbius*:
 He then presented himself before the Assembly.
Memmius reproached him with his Ingratitude to
 the Family of *Micipsa*; his excessive Ambition;
 his

his Cruelty ; the Murder of his two adopted Brothers ; his Disobedience to the Orders of the Senate, and his private Intelligence with those who carried them ; which was yet more criminal and more odious to the Republic.

The Tribune added, that, though the People were not unacquainted with the Names of his Accomplices, and the Prices of their Prostitution, yet they would be informed of them from his own Mouth. That he might hope for all Favour from the Faith and Clemency of the *Romans*, if he spoke Truth ; but that if he concealed or disguis'd it, he ruin'd himself irrecoverably : And hereupon he calls upon him to answer, Article by Article, to the several Heads of the Accusation, which he had not prepared so much against him, as against the Senators, and the Deputies from the Senate, who had suffer'd themselves to be corrupted by his Money.

But *Bæbius* interposing to the Assistance of *Jugurtha*, without alledging any Reason, forbade him to make Answer. Every Body is surpriz'd at the Impudence of the Tribune. Nevertheless he obstinately persists in his Opposition ; and the People, betray'd by one of their own Magistrates, are forc'd to break up the Assembly, without having receiv'd the least Information. Justly provok'd at this Collusion, and at *Bæbius's* Opposition, they look upon it as the Effect of such Bribery, and talk of no less than seizing the King of *Numidia*, and of giving his Crown to another Grandson of *Massinissa*, who, fearing *Jugurtha's* Cruelty, had, upon *Adherbal's* Death, taken Refuge at *Rome*.

Jugurtha, alarm'd at these Reports, finds out *Russians* that ease him of his Rival. But one of the Murderers being taken, the treacherous *African*, convicted of so foul a Crime by the Depositions of that Villain, and perhaps not having Money

ney enough left to be innocent, receives the Senate's Orders to depart immediately from *Rome*. He sets out directly, probably for fear of being stopp'd. It is said, that being come out of the Gates of *Rome*, he look'd back upon them, and cried out: *O mercenary City, thou wouldst quickly be enslaved, if a Merchant were found but rich enough to buy thee!*

As this Prince came to *Rome* upon the public Faith, he was suffered to return quietly into his Dominions. But he was soon follow'd by the Consul *Albinus*, who had Orders to make vigorous War upon him, unless he deliver'd his Person and Kingdom up to the Disposal of the *Roman* People.

Albinus being arrived in *Africa*, began to prosecute the War with good Success; and he would gladly have finish'd it before the Expiration of his Consulship. *Jugurtha*, on the contrary, whose only Hope was in the Change of Generals, and who expected every Thing from the Advantage of Time, thought of nothing but how to amuse the Consul, and to draw Things out into Length. At one Time he would promise to deliver himself; at another, he would declare that he would sooner quit his Life than his Crown. Now he would fly before the *Romans*, and presently afterwards come and attack them in their very Camp. He then would send Messengers and Envoys to propose Treaties: Every Day brought forth some new Proposal. The Consul, perplexed in this Abyss of Negotiations, in which he could see no Bottom, could not be said to make either War or Peace. And the Time of the *Comitia* being come, he was oblig'd to leave *Africa*, and to repair to *Rome*, to preside in the Election of new Consuls; and he departed, after having given the Command of the Army to *Aulus*, his Lieutenant and Brother.

This was the greatest Advantage *Jugurtha* could wish for. He had now to deal with a Captain

tain without Valour or Military Knowledge, and whose only Qualification was being the General's Brother. A great Presumption blinded him from seeing his own Incapacity; and a sordid Avarice made him make as many Faults as Enterprizes.

*Suthul
besieg'd.*

In the very Depth of Winter he drew his Troops out of their Quarters to besiege *Suthul*, one of the strongest Palces in *Numidia*, where *Jugurtha* kept part of his Treasures. This was the Lure that drew him; but the Prey was inclos'd in a Castle, situated upon the Brow of a Hill, and surrounded by Marshes, which the Rains and the Snows, being melted, had made impracticable.

Aulus, blinded by his Avarice, ventures nevertheless to besiege it. *Jugurtha*, overjoyed to see him employ himself in so difficult an Undertaking, caused divers Proposals to be made to him, as if he had dreaded the Success of his Arms. To keep up his Presumption, he from Time to Time sent Deputies to him to beg Peace, in Terms as submissive, as if he had been already Master of all *Numidia*. He neglected not however to advance with his Army, as if he meant to endeavour at throwing Succours into the Place: But he had instructed his Officers to affect a Countenance full of Diffidence.

*The Ro-
mans are
defeated.*

Aulus, who flatter'd himself that he had spread Terror among the *Numidians*, marches against them as to a sure Victory. *Jugurtha*, to encourage him in his Confidence, and continue him in his Error, feigns to betake himself to flight. His Troops retire in a precipitate Manner. The *Roman* General pursues them warmly; and all his Fear is, lest *Jugurtha* should escape him. But the crafty *Numidian*, who knew the Country, draws and leads him insensibly into narrow Passes, all whose Avenues he had before secur'd; and *Aulus* finds himself taken and conquer'd, in a Manner, before he had seen the Enemy.

Distrust

Distrust and Terror run through his Troops. The *Numidians* charged the *Romans* in Front and Rear. They shower upon them a Storm of Arrows. Some are slain; others seek a Passage and Means to fly. But whatever Way they turn themselves, they meet the Enemy and Death. At length the *Roman* General, with his principal Officers, gains the Top of a Mountain, where *Jugurtha*, who was sure he could not escape him, suffers him to spend the Night. The Day discovers his Defeat in its full Extent. He sees one Part of his Troops cut to Pieces, and the other besieged by a victorious Enemy, who is Master of all the Country. There was a Necessity of coming to a Capitulation. *Jugurtha* pretends, that he will not make Use of all his Advantages. He grants the *Romans* Life and Liberty, but upon Condition that they should pass under the Yoke; an ignominious Ceremony, by which the Conquerors affixed an eternal Shame to the Defeat of the vanquished. He exacts besides from the General, and the principal Officers, a solemn Promise, that the *Romans* shall never disturb him in the Possession of the Kingdom of *Numidia*. *Aulus*, no less abject than presumptuous, subscribes to every Thing; and a *Roman* is seen to be in more Fear of Death, than of the Loss of his Honour.

The Senate was no sooner inform'd of so shameful a Treaty, but they declar'd it void. They recalled *Aulus*; and *Metellus*, the Consul elect, was intrusted with the Prosecution of the *Numidian* War. He was a Senator of one of the best Families in *Rome*, a great Captain, a good Man, of a Virtue and Probity universally acknowledg'd; one who, though he was of the contrary Party to that of the People, was as agreeable to them, as to the *Patri-cians* themselves, whose Glory and greatest Support he was.

The

Year of
Rome,
644.

The Romans knowing his great Qualities, and particularly that he was incorruptible, no longer made the least Doubt of the Defeat of *Jugurtha*, who had hitherto maintained himself by nothing but Artifices, and the Avarice of the Leaders that had been sent against him. *Metellus* assembles his Troops, makes new Levies, lays up Magazines of Provisions, Arms, and Ammunition, and sets out for *Numidia*, accompanied by *Caius Marius*, whom the People had chosen for one of his Lieutenants.

Marius's
Charac-
ter.

Marius was born in a Village near *Arpinum*, of poor Parents, who earned their Livelihood by the Labour of their Hands. He had been brought up in rustic Employments, and his Manners were as fierce as his Face was terrible; he was a Man of a great Bulk; of extraordinary Strength of Body; courageous, and a Soldier before he ever bore Arms. He entered betimes into the Army, and distinguish'd himself therein by Actions of a very extraordinary Valour and, above all, by an exact Practice of the Military Discipline. He sought in all Occasions, Dangers worthy of his Courage; and the longest Marches, and the greatest Fatigues of War, were nothing to a Man brought up in a hard Way of Living. There was observed in all his Conduct, an extreme Averseness to Pleasures: And after his Advancement, he seem'd to be sensible to nothing but Ambition and Revenge; Passions, which cost the Republic so much Blood. He went through all the Degrees in the Army, and every Step he rose was a Reward for some Action, by which he had signaliz'd himself. When he asked of the People the Office of Tribune in a Legion, most of his Fellow-Citizens did not know his Face; but his Name was unknown to no Body; and by Means of a Reputation so well established, he carried that Employment from several *Patricians*, that were his Competitors. *Metellus*,

who was so good a Judge of Valour, afterwards ^{Marius} promoted him to the chief Posts in the Army; and ^{Tribune of} by his Protection he had attained even the Dignity ^{the People.} of Tribune of the People. It was now that he began to discover his Ambition, and the violent Hatred which he bore to the Party of the Nobles. He was incessantly declaiming against the Luxury of the Senators; and though he was not eloquent, he was daily representing to the People, with a strong thundering Voice, what a Shame it was to them that they durst never intrust the Command of the Armies, and the chief Dignities of the State, to any but *Patricians*: That those covetous and ambitious Men had made them almost a Patrimony to themselves; that by Means of their great Credit and Influence, they handed them down from one to the other, and that while they were invested with them, they practised all Manner of Extortions with Impunity.

Marius, to break their Cabals, and prevent their Methods of promoting each other, proposed a new Law, and a new Way of giving the Suffrages, in the Election of the *Curule* Magistrates.

Cotta, who was then Consul, and who saw into his Designs, opposed the Publication of the Law, and the new Tribune was even called before the Senate to answer for his Conduct. *Marius* appeared, and, instead of being daunted, as a Man of such low Birth, and so unexperienced in Affairs, might have been expected to be, he boldly threatened the Consul, that he would cause him to be seized, if he persisted in his Opposition. He then turned towards *Metellus*, who hitherto had been his Patron, as it were to ask him to declare in his Favour. But *Metellus* having publicly disapproved his Conduct, *Marius*, without any Respect for a Senator, to whom he was obliged for his Fortune, immediately commanded his Officers to seize him: And he had been carried to Prison with

Cotta,

Marius
made Lieu-
tenant to
Metellus.

Cotta, if that Consul had not forbore his Opposition. *MARIUS* went directly from the Senate to the Assembly of the People, where he got his Law confirmed. The People, charmed with his Resoluteness, gave him extravagant Praises, and afterwards appointed him to go into *Numidia*, in Quality of *Metellus's* Lieutenant. That General, who preferred the Good of his Country to any private Resentment, employed him with all the Confidence that his Valour and Capacity deserv'd. His Confidence was not misplaced, and *Marius* was ever after look'd upon as the surest Instrument of

Val. Max. his Victories. *Metellus*, being arriv'd in *Africa*,
L. 2. c. 7. made it his first Business to restore the Military
Front. Discipline among the Troops, which *Aulus* deli-
Stratag. vered over to him; he then march'd against *Ju-*
L. 4. c. 1. *gurtha*, gain'd two Victories over that Prince,
Salust. Fl. took his chief Towns from him; and, after having
L. 3. c. 1. pursu'd him from Province to Province, at length
Oros. L. drov'd him to the very Extremity of his Domi-
5. c. 15. nions.

Jugurtha having now neither Troops to
defeated by fight *Metellus*, nor a Place of Refuge left, desired
Metellus. to capitulate, and offer'd to submit to all the Con-
ditions that the *Roman* General should think fit to
prescribe to him. *Metellus* first order'd him to
pay two hundred thousand Pound Weight of Sil-
ver for the Charge of the War; to deliver up all
his Elephants, and a certain Quantity of Arms and
Horses; which he execut'd punctually. The Con-
sul then demand'd that he should yield up the De-
serters. *Jugurtha* obey'd in this also, and gave
up those that he could lay Hands on. But when,
lastly, he was order'd to repair himself to *Tisi-*
dium, there to receive further Directions, then he
began to hesitate, and spent several Days, with-
out being able to come to any Resolution. The
Remembrance of his Crimes; the Apprehensions
that they intended to revenge the Death of the
two Princes *Adherbal* and *Hiempsal*; the Charms
of

of Sovereignty, and the Horror there was in the Thought of falling from a Throne into Servitude, drew him to tempt once more the Fate of War; and though he was stripped of his chief Forces, he thought he had still enough remaining to lengthen out the War, or at least to keep off his Destruction for some little Time. Thus he breaks off the Negotiation; gathers together new Troops; fortifies some little Places that were still in his Power at the Extremity of his Kingdom, and endeavours to surprize those which the *Romans* had made themselves Masters of.

Metellus had put a Garrison into *Vacca*, one of *A Mas-*
the largest and richest Cities of *Numidia*, and had *sacre in*
given the Government of it to *Turpilius Silanus*, *Vacca.*
his Friend and Host, but no *Roman* Citizen. *Tur-*
pilius, a worthy Man, free from all Pride and
Avarice, forgot no Methods to tame those *Bar-*
barians, and to gain their Affections by the Mild-
ness of his Government. All the Inhabitants were
equally charmed with his Justice and Moderation;
but the Love of their Country, so natural to all
Men, Fidelity to their Sovereign, and Aversion
to a Foreign Yoke, prevailed above the Esteem
they had for *Turpilius*. The Chiefs of the City suf-
fered themselves to be gained by *Jugurtha*; they af-
terwards take the Opportunity of a public Festival,
to invite the Officers to feast at their Houses;
Every Man stabs his Guest; and by the Means of
this Tumult, *Jugurtha* enters the City, and cuts
the *Roman* Garrison to Pieces. *Turpilius* alone
escaped this Massacre, through the Gratitude of
the Inhabitants; who begged his Life of *Jugurtha*,
and afterwards conducted him to the very Camp
of the *Romans*, where he gave an Account of this
unhappy Accident.

Though *Metellus* was convinced that he was rather unfortunate than guilty, he could not help causing him to be imprisoned. He was imme-

Turpi-
lius,
tho' inno-
cent, is
condemn'd
to die.

Marius's
insolent
Conduct.

diately had before the Council of War. *Marius*, to spite his General, sets himself up for the Accuser of *Turpilius*; he charges him with having sold the Town, and prosecutes this Affair so warmly, that he gets him condemned to Death. It was not till after *Metellus* had retaken *Vacca*, that *Turpilius's* Innocence, and the Treachery of the Inhabitants, was made plain. Every Body pitied him: The Friends of the *Roman* General bewailed with him the unfortunate End of a Man whom he had thought worthy of his Friendship. There was none but *MARIUS*, who, seeking to make himself considerable by a declared Hate against his General, rejoiced publicly at the Death of *Turpilius*; and he insolently boasted, that he had found Means to torment *Metellus* with a perpetual Remorse, and an avenging Fury, which would be continually requiring of him the innocent Blood of his Host and Friend. *Marius*, eat up with Ambition, affected this public Hatred to one of the chief *Patricians* in the Senate, only to gain himself Credit with the opposite Party. He had no sooner attained to be the Consul's Lieutenant, but he aspired to his Place; and in order to arrive at it, he omitted nothing that might gain him a great Reputation. He was in all Undertakings: He was for heading all Parties of Troops: And as well in Councils, as in Battles and Sieges, no Body gave more prudent Advice, or fought with more Courage and Valour. He was at the same Time admir'd for that Temperance and Frugality, from which he never departed. His Habit and Diet were the same as the meanest Soldier's: Tho' a General Officer, he eat of the same Bread that was distributed to the meanest in the Army; lay upon the Ground, or some coarse Mattrafs; and was the first in all Labours, whether to open a Trench, or fortify the Camp.

Mean

Mean while, as the Time of the Election of Consuls came on, and as he openly aspired to that great Dignity; he causes it to be reported at *Rome*, by his Emissaries, that *Metellus* prolonged the War, only to continue himself in his Power and Command: That that *Patrician*, proud of his noble Birth, had more Ostentation than real Merit: That his natural Slowness being increased by Age, gave Opportunity to an active and vigilant Enemy to traverse his Marches: That they would never see an End of this War, unless they changed their General: And that for his Part, if they gave him but Half the Troops that *Metellus* had in his Army, he would undertake in one single Campaign, to bring *JUGURTHA* to *Rome*, dead, or alive. The *Marius* Tribunes of the People, overjoy'd to find a Man *canvasses* of such Merit to be set up in the Election against *for the* the *Patricians* that pretended to the Consulate, make *Consulate.* Interest in his Favour. The Heads of the Tribes are easily gained: They make sure of the greatest Number of Voices, and loudly boast in *Rome*, That, in spite of all the Interest and Power of the Great, the Consulate in this Election should go out of the Order of the *Patricians*. *MARIUS* inform'd of this favourable Inclination towards him in the People, desires his Discharge of *Metellus*, that he might go in Person, according to the Law, to demand that Dignity; which was never conferr'd upon the Absent. *Metellus* was surprized, and indeed filled with Indignation, that a Man of so low an Extract should make such high Pretensions: And though that General was full of Honour, and deserved his great Reputation; *Salust* tells us, he was not quite free from that Pride which is almost inseparable from Noble Birth. It was in this Spirit that he answer'd *MARIUS* with a kind of Raillery, mixed with Contempt: *That he advised him to defer putting up for the Consulship, till young Metellus his Son was old enough to be his Colleague.*

*Blames
Metellus.*

*Cic. Offic.
L. 3.*

This Son of *Metellus* was not yet twenty Years old, and actually served at that Time in his Father's Army. Every Body knows, that in the ordinary Course, a Man was to be at least forty three Years old, to attain the Consulship. *MARIUS*, without seeming offended at so sharp an Answer, again solicits his Discharge; obtains it; and arrives at *Rome* before the Day of the *Comitia*. One of the Tribunes introduced him in the first Assembly. *MARIUS*, under the Pretence of giving the People an Account of the *Numidian* War, was not ashamed, in order to exalt himself, to vilify the great Actions of his General. He ascribed to himself the Honour of all Advantages; and, according to his Account, *Metellus*, that great Captain, seemed to have contributed nothing to the Victories, but his Name and *Auspices*. He mixed with all this, Insinuations full of Malice; That *Metellus* protracted the War, either to continue himself longer in the Honour of the Command, or out of his natural Inactivity: That the timorous and uncertain Manner in which he carried on this War, made him seem more like a Man that did not so much think of putting an End to it, and of conquering, as of not being vanquished: That, for his Part, who knew the Country, and was certainly more active and vigorous than *Metellus*, he would engage in one Campaign to take *JUGURTHA*, dead or alive, or to drive him out of *Numidia*, and all *Africa*. The People, already prepossessed in his Favour, and charmed with his Boldness, gave him the highest Praises; and *MARIUS* looked upon them as sure Pledges of an approaching Consulship. Not but that he saw great Obstacles in his Way, especially from the Nobles, who could never consent that a Man of such low Birth should fill the chief Dignity in the Republic. They would much more willingly have made him General of the Army in *Numidia*.

Numidia. But as these two Employments were inseparable, the Command of the Armies always belonging to the Consuls, MARIUS was at length ^{Marius} made Consul, that he might be General of the ^{Consul.} *Numidian Army.*

The new Consul, intoxicated with his Greatness, ^{Year of} gave free Reins to the Hatred he had always bore ^{Rome,} to the Body of the Nobility. He insulted them in ^{646.} all his Discourses; and boasted, That the Dignity ^{Marius} he had obtained, was a Victory which the People ^{insults the} had won over the Great, by Means of his Courage ^{Nobility.} and Valour. “They despise my Birth,” said he, “and I despise their Pride and Effeminacy. They upbraid me with my Poverty, so much esteemed among our Ancestors; and I, much more justly, upbraid them with their Avarice; to which we daily see them sacrifice their Faith, their Honour, the Glory and Interest of the Republic. They envy the Dignity, to which the Votes of the People, and of all good Men, have raised me. Why do they not also envy me my Labours in War, the Dangers to which I have so often exposed myself, and the Wounds that I have received in Battle? I am arrived at the Command no otherwise, than by a long Course of Obedience; and they expect to command without ever having obeyed, and without any other Merit besides that of their Birth. If they commit Faults, if they suffer themselves by their Negligence to be surprized by the Enemy; the Credit, the Cabals of their Relations, their Swarms of Creatures, cover all. The Losses they occasion are connived at and disguised, or thrown upon Subaltern Officers. The Truth never pierces the Cloud formed by the Authority of the Great, and the Flattery of their Slaves. For my Part, I never had any of these Aids: I have no Relations in high Posts: I cannot produce the Ima-

“ges, the Consulships, and Triumphs of my An-
 “cestors. My whole Reliance is upon myself;
 “and I have no Support but my Courage. I
 “even confess, that the Talent of Elocution is
 “what I am no Master of: I am ignorant of that
 “dangerous Art, which enables a Man to cover
 “with fine Words the Shame of Actions full of
 “Baseness. Educated almost from my Infancy in
 “a Camp, and bred up in a Military Discipline,
 “I have learnt nothing but how to make good
 “Use of my Sword. There lies my whole Study;
 “and this is the Instruction and Example which
 “I shall give my Soldiers. It is by the Practice
 “of these Lessons, that we hope to put a speedy
 “End to the *Numidian* War. By taking the
 “Command of the Army out of the Hands of
 “the Great, you have removed the chief Obstacle
 “that lay in the Way to Victory. It has been
 “nothing but their Ignorance in the Military Art,
 “their Presumption, and especially their scanda-
 “lous Avarice, that have drawn out the War to
 “such a Length already.”

*Sets out
 for Africa.*

MARIUS having added to the People's Confi-
 dence by this Discourse, desired of them new Re-
 cruits for the Legions; and that he might be al-
 lowed to take Auxiliary Troops of the Nations
 that were Subjects, or Allies of the Republic.
 He obtains as many Decrees and *Plebiscita* as he
 asks. The People, and especially the meaner Sort,
 proud of having a Consul of their own Order, run
 with the greatest Eagerness to list themselves under
 his Banners. All are for following him; they
 think the Victory certain under so great a General:
 And the new Soldier flatters himself, that he
 shall quickly return to his Country laden with
 Booty.

MARIUS receives indifferently into his Troops
 all that offer themselves, even such as were not
 worth what was prescribed by the Laws to capa-
 citate

citate a Man to be list'd in the *Roman* Militia: But this Consul, a Slave to Ambition, and who privately had formed the vastest Designs, was not sorry to bind to himself these Sort of People, without House or Home, without Substance or Friends, and who could subsist only by his Protection. He then embarked with his new Levies, and soon arrived in *Africa*.

Metellus heard not without the greatest Vexation that he must give Place to a Successor, especially at a Time when the War seem'd almost concluded, and when he had nothing more to do, but to make himself Master of a few Places of small Importance. It is said, that this great and wise Man could not help shedding of Tears at the first News he heard of it. *Salust*, from whom I have taken most of these Facts, relates, that this Injustice, so intolerable to a General, would have given *Metellus* less Concern, if the Republic's Choice had fallen upon any but *Marius*, whom he always look'd upon as his Creature, and as an ungrateful Wretch, that had decried his Conduct only to raise himself upon the Ruins of his Reputation. As he could not bear the Thoughts of seeing a Man that was so hateful to him, he appointed *Rutilus*, one of his Lieutenants, to deliver over his Army to *Marius*; and then departed for *Rome*, where he very soon arrived.

His Return, and the Account he gave of the Success of his Arms, the Towns he had taken, the Provinces he had conquer'd, and the Battles he had won; these quickly destroy'd and wip'd off the ill Reports which *Marius* had rais'd against him. The Esteem and Respect which the People had for that great Man, revived a-fresh. *Velleius Paterculus* L. 2. C. 2. informs us, that they with an unanimous Consent, decreed him the Honour of the Triumph, with the Surname of *Numidicus*: And it was observed, says that Historian, that there was in *Rome*

above twelve Magistrates, all at the same Time, of the same Family as *Metellus*, who, in less than twelve Years, had raised themselves to the chief Dignities of the Republic; some to the Consulate, others to the Censorship, and several that had added to these Dignities the Glory of a Triumph.

Sylla.

Quæstor to Marius the General: What that Officer was.

MARIUS being landed upon the Coast of *Africa*, was soon after joined by *Cornelius Sylla*, his Quæstor; who brought him a strong Body of Horse, which he had raised among the *Latins*. The Quæstors were the Treasurers General of the Republic. They are thought to be as ancient as the Foundation of *Rome*; though some refer their Origin to the Consuls, as we have already said. There were two that always stay'd at *Rome*; and two others, and afterwards a greater Number were added, who usually attended the Consuls to the Army. It was necessary to have been at least ten Years in the Service, to attain this Employment; And though the Quæstors had no Jurisdiction in the City, they had particular Commands in the Army. And as every Thing seems to depend upon those who have the Administration of the Treasure, several Consulars were known to put up for that Post. *Titus Quintius Capitolinus*, after three Consulships, thought it not beneath him to accept the Office of Quæstor. *Cato* the Elder served in it, after having been honour'd with a Triumph: And it was at length decreed by the *Lex Pompeia*, That for the future none should be admitted into the Quæstorship but Consulars: Which shews what a Notion the Men most jealous of their Dignities and Birth have of the Advantage of being concerned in the public Monies.

Sylla, before this Law, obtained it by that Time he was one and thirty Years old. It seems, says *Velleius Paterculus*, as if Destiny, by bringing *Sylla* and *MARIUS* together, had had an Inclination to unite those two Men, and to prevent the Calamities

mities which their Discord afterwards brought upon the Republic. But since they are both going to act such great Parts in this History, it will be proper to give a more particular Knowledge of *Sylla*; especially when we have already drawn the Character of *Marius*.

Lucius Cornelius Sylla, a *Patrician*, and of one Sal. Val. of the most illustrious Families in *Rome*, was Max. l. 6. well made, of a handsome Aspect; his Air was C. 9. noble, his Manners easy; seemingly full of Free- Sylla's Charac- dom, as if his whole Heart lay open to you; ter. naturally insinuating, persuasive, eloquent: He loved Pleasure, but Glory more. His Duty took Place of every Thing: He could give himself up to Pleasure, and tear himself from it with equal Ease. He strove to please every Body; modest in his Speech, if he talk'd of himself; lavish of Praises to others, and yet more so of Money. He lent it readily to those that applied to him, and prevented those that had occasion for it, and were afraid to ask him. He never demanded it again; and it seemed as if he intended to buy the whole Army. Familiar above all with the common Soldiers, he would become one of them himself, assume their coarse Manners, drink with them, rally them, and be rallied by them with Pleasure. But when he was risen from Table, always serious, active, diligent. He was a perfect *Proteus*, and could put on all these several Characters with the greatest Ease; and his Virtues and Vices were equally concealed under the deepest Dissimulation, which made him impenetrable, even in his most secret Pleasures, to the very Companions of his Debauches.

Such was *Sylla* when he came to *Africa*, and into *Plut.* in *Marius's* Army. He applied himself first to gain *Sylla*. the Esteem of the ablest Soldiers, by his Diligence in all the Military Duties; whether the Army was *His* to fight or to intrench. *Sylla* was every where. *Valour.*

He

He ran to those Parts where there was most Danger, with the same Readiness that others return from them. A noble Emulation made him sue for the most dangerous Employments; and it was not long before he acquired the Esteem of the General, and of the Soldiers in an equal Degree. *Marius* afterwards even gave him a separate Body of Troops, which he commanded in Chief. I shall enter into the Particulars of this War, no further than is necessary for the Connection of the several Parts of my Story. It is sufficient to take Notice, that before *MARIUS*'s Arrival in *Africa*, *Jugurtha*, driven by *Metellus* to the Extremity of his Dominions, had got a neighbouring King, named *Bocchus*, for his Protector and Ally. These two Princes *MARIUS* had to deal with. He took *Cap-sa*, a great City, and very populous; and afterwards made himself Master of that Fort, before which *Aulus Albinus* had received his Defeat. The Armies quickly came to a Battle. The two Kings, by a private Match, surprize the *Romans*; attack them in the Night; fill their Troops with Terror; make a great Slaughter; and must have gained a compleat Victory, if the Obscurity had not hindered them from knowing the Advantage they had gained, and improving it. *MARIUS* quickly had his Revenge; and almost before the News came to *Rome* of the Loss he had received in the first Action, Advice came that he had defeated the two Kings in two decisive Battles, and disabled them both from keeping the Field.

Marius
defeats Ju-
gurtha
and
Bocchus.

Orof. l. 5.
c. 15.
Year of
Rome,
646.

Plut. in
Mar. Sal.
Bell. Ju-
gur. vide
Orof.
Eutr. Flo.

Bocchus
sues for
Peace.

Bocchus having in these two Battles felt the Valour and Fortune of the *Romans*, did not think fit to hazard his own Crown to defend that of his Ally; he resolved to make his Peace, and sent Ambassadors quite to *Rome* to sue for it.

These Ambassadors, being admitted into the Senate, said, That the King, their Master, had been abused by the Artifices of *JUGURTHA*; that he

he repented his Engagements with him, and desired the Alliance and Friendship of the *Romans*. Answer was made him in these Terms :

“ The Senate and *Roman* People are not used
 “ to forget either Services or Injuries ; however,
 “ since *Bocchus* repents of his Fault, they grant
 “ him their Pardon. As to Peace and Alliance,
 “ he shall obtain them when he has deserved them
 “ by his Actions.” *Bocchus*, perplexed with this
 Answer, secretly intreated *MARIUS* to send him
 his Quæstor. *Sylla* repaired to him. Several
 Ways were proposed for establishing a Peace :
 “ You have no other,” says *Sylla* to *Bocchus*, “ but
 “ to deliver *JUGURTHA* to us. By this you will
 “ make Amends for the Imprudence and Mischief
 “ of your first Engagement ; and this must be
 “ the Price of our Alliance and Friendship.”

Bocchus seemed shocked at such a Proposal, and represented to *Sylla*, that such a Peace of Treachery as this would affix an everlasting Shame to his Memory. This was the Subject of several Conferences between that King and the *Roman* Quæstor. But *Sylla*, who was pressing and Eloquent, so often repeated and urged it so strongly upon him, that nothing but an extraordinary Piece of Service could expiate the Injustice he had been guilty of in declaring against the *Romans*, that he at length determined to yield up *JUGURTHA*. That Prince was betray'd and seiz'd in a pretended Conference which *Bocchus* desired of him ; he was laden with Chains, and given up to *Sylla*, who delivered him into the Hands of *Marius*, his General ; and by the Captivity of this unhappy Prince, the *Numidian* War was entirely concluded.

Year of
 Rome,
 647.
Jugurtha
 delivered
 up by *Boc-*
chus.

This good News could not have come to *Rome* at a more lucky Time. They had just heard, that a prodigious Multitude of Barbarians out of the *North* were advancing towards the *South*, and threatened all *Italy*. It was resolved to send against them

MARIUS,

Year of
Rome,
649.
Marius
again na-
med to the
Consulship.

MARIUS, who was now just in the Height of that Favour and Applause which a new Victory gives a General. He was named Consul the second Time, though the Laws would not allow a Man that was absent to be chosen Consul, nay, and required ten Years Interval between two Consulships. To these very remarkable Favours, the People added the Government of *Gallia Norbonensis*, and at the same Time decreed him the Honours of the Triumph. JUGURTHA, laden with Chains, was the principal Ornament of it. He was dragged like a Slave at the Wheels of *Marius's* Chariot. That Prince after this Ceremony, was led to Prison, where he was condemned to be starved to Death. The Executioner tore off his Royal Robe, stripped him of all his Clothes, and then pushed him into a deep Dungeon, which was to be his Tomb. It is related, that as he went into it stark naked, he cried out, *O Hercules, how cold are thy Stoves!* Alluding to the Baths of that God, which were said to be cold. That Prince, struggling with Hunger, continued six Days living; and a vain Desire of prolonging his Life, served as a Punishment to a King, who had always reckoned for nothing the Death of his nearest Relations, and of the greatest Men of his Court, whom he had sacrificed to his Fortune and Ambition.

The End of the Ninth Book.

B O O K X.

MARIUS delivers Gaul and Italy from three hundred thousand Barbarians, known by the Name of Cimbri and Teutones, who had already plunder'd and laid waste a large Country, and defeated several Roman Generals: But envying Metellus his Reputation and Power, he meditates his Ruin. He unites with Saturnus and Glaucia, and prevails to have him exiled. Those two Men, the greatest Profligates in the whole Common-wealth, are stoned and beaten to Death. Metellus is recall'd. Sylla's great Skill in the Art of War. MARIUS growing jealous of him, looks on him as his Enemy. Rome divides their Affections betwixt these two Generals. Ready to tear each other to Pieces by a Civil War, the Romans reunite against several Nations of Italy, who had made a League to oblige the Romans by Force of Arms to grant them the Title and Privileges of Roman Citizens. Sylla is preferr'd to MARIUS in the Command against Mithridates. The fatal Consequences of that Preference. Particular Account of the Civil-War it occasion'd. Death of MARIUS.

GREAT and uncommon were the Rejoicings Marius, which the People of Rome made on the Day ^{and the} that Marius triumphed, not only on a public Account, but because the Consulate of that ^{People,} Plebeian ^{elated} was of their own procuring; consequently they ^{with his} look'd on themselves as the Authors of his Victories, and Associates in his Triumph. The Tribunes

butes took thence continual Occasions to insult, in there Speeches, the *Patricians* and all the Nobles. They haughtily ask'd 'em, What Commander, what General from amongst them, was comparable to that *Plebeian*? And if it was still their Opinion, that nobody could pretend to Valour, Courage, or Skill in the Command of Armies, who did not derive his Origin from the Nobility? The *Patricians* and Nobles, on the other Hand, to lessen *MARIUS's* Glory, gave out, that all the Honour of that War was due to *Metellus*; who, after two compleat Battles gain'd, had drove *Jugurtha* to the most distant Parts of his Dominions; and that *Marius* might yet have been in *Africa*, if *Sylla*, a *Patrician*, had not made himself Master of that King's Person in *Numidia*. *Sylla* himself, yet more jealous of *MARIUS's* Glory, than the other had been of the Advantages gain'd by *Metellus*, caused the History of that Event to be engrav'd on a Stone, to perpetuate the Memory thereof. On it was seen, in what Manner *Bocchus* deliver'd up *Jugurtha* to him; and to teaze *MARIUS* yet more, he from that Time used that Stone for his common Seal; a Circumstance which in History would seem of little Import, if the same had not given Birth to the Divisions which afterwards happen'd betwixt those two great Men; and in which the Senate and People so greatly interested themselves.

*Sylla's
Seal.*

*Irruption
of the Teu-
tones and
Cimbri.*

But this Competition and Party Spirit were laid aside at the first News of the Approach of those Barbarians we just mention'd. More than three hundred thousand Men, known by the Names of *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, issuing from *Cbersonesus Cimbri*, now *Jutland*, had enter'd into a Confederacy to seek for Lands in a more temperate and warmer Climate than their own. These Barbarians, attended with an innumerable Body of old Men, Women and Children, broke into *Gaul*, where they committed great Outrages. The *Cimbri* cut

in Pieces the Army commanded by *M. Junius Silanus*, and defeated another Body, commanded by *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, Lieutenant of *Cn. Manlius*, then Consul. The like Misfortune befel that Consul and *Q. Servilius Cypio*, who soon after lost above fouricore thousand Men in two great Battles. Then those Barbarians separated; the *Teutones* remain'd in *Gaul*, from whence they made Preparation to pass into *Italy*; and the *Cimbri* took their Way into *Germany*. So many Losses, joined to the great Numbers and Fierceness of those Barbarians, struck a Terror into the *Romans*. Jealousy gave way; the two Parties that divided *Rome* were united; and all, as with one Accord, made *Marius* chief Commander in the Expedition against their common Enemy. He was voted Consul two Years together, which was his second and third Consulship; in which Time he raised great Armies, and fortified the Straits and Passes through which the Enemy might penetrate into *Italy*. He return'd to *Rome*, to preside at the Election of new Consuls. There did he declare, that he did not pretend to that Dignity, since he had already enjoy'd it thrice, and would even decline it, if it was offer'd him. But those who knew to what a Degree he was aspiring and ambitious, laugh'd at that sham Modesty; and easily penetrated into his Designs, when they observ'd what Part he made *Saturninus*, his Creature, and a Tribune, to act at the same Time; who openly called him Knave and Traitor, for refusing to serve his Country, animating the People to compel *Marius* by Force, to take upon him the Command of the Army.

This Stratagem was too gross not to be discern'd by a Nation so clear-sighted as the *Romans* were. But as at that Time they had no General of a superior Capacity, and that *Metellus* was too aged to take upon him the Management of a War, wherein there would be occasion for as much Activity

Marius sent against the Teutones.

Year of Rome, 650.

Plut. in Mario.

*Year of
Rome,
651.*

vity as Courage; MARIUS was elected Consul for the fourth Time, and *Catulus Luſtati* was appointed his Colleague; a Man indeed unequal to him in the Art of War, but excelling him in Modesty, Probity, and sweet Behaviour.

*The Teu-
tones de-
feated.*

*Plut. in
Mario.*

Orof. l. 5.

c. 16.

Flor. l. 3.

c. 3.

Liv. Epit.

lib. 68.

The two Consuls divided the Legions betwixt them. MARIUS with his Share marched against the *Teutones*, whom he met and defeated near *Aix* in *Provence*. Historians relate, that the Battle lasted two whole Days; that a hundred and forty thousand of the *Teutones* were slain; and that by so general a Defeat, that Barbarian Nation was almost extinct. The *Cimbri*, more successful at first, had pass'd the *Alps*, and penetrated into the *Gallia Cisalpina*. *Catulus* waited for them upon the Banks of the *Atbesis* (*Adige*.) But having no more than twenty thousand Men to oppose so powerful an Host, a general Terror seiz'd the Hearts of his Army; many fled before the Approach of the Enemy; and the *Roman* General, to save the rest, was forced to quit the Banks of the River, and to encamp in such Defiles as he might

*The Cim-
bri defeat-
ed.*

*Plut. in
Mario &
Syll.*

Crof. l. 5.

c. 16.

Vell. Patt.

l. 2.

not be forc'd from. MARIUS, in the Beginning of his fifth Consulship, came to his Relief with a victorious Army. The two Generals having join'd their Forces, gave Battle to the *Cimbri*, in the Plain of *Vercelli*. Those Barbarians were defeated, and the *Romans* obtained so compleat a Victory, that, if Credit may be given to their Historians, an hundred and twenty thousand of the *Cimbri* fell on the Field of Battle, besides sixty thousand that were taken Prisoners.

*Sixth Con-
sulship of
Mario.*

The two Consuls jointly triumph'd, on account of these Victories; and MARIUS, insatiable of Honours, put up for a sixth Consulship, with as much Eagerness as he had for the first. It is even related, that he bought it by Presents given underhand to the Heads of the Tribes, and those who bore the greatest Sway among the People; and that

that at the same time he made use of the like vile Means to get *Metellus* excluded, whose Virtues and Plut. in Experience, join'd to the Wishes of all honest Mario. Men, loudly call'd him to the Government of the Common-wealth. To him they preferr'd *Valerius Flaccus*, who was less the Colleague than the Slave of MARIUS. This Man, so truly great by his Valour and Services to his Country during the War, became its Tyrant during the Peace.

In this exalted State of Glory, to which his Vic- Marius tories had rais'd him, he could not bear the Pre- persecutes sence of *Metellus*, because he saw that his Virtues Metellus. made him more admir'd than himself. Not satisfi'd with having disappointed him of the Consulship, he made use of the meanest and most unworthy Artifices to get him banish'd from *Rome*. To this Effect he leagu'd himself with the two Senators, the one called *Glaucia*, the other *Saturninus*, both declared Enemies of *Metellus*, the most profligate Men in the whole Common-wealth, and whom that grave Senator would have expell'd the Senate during his Censorship, if he had not been App. oppos'd therein by his Colleague, with whom they Alex. l. i. had some Interest.

These three Men united their Resentments and Marius, Cabals. Glaucia, MARIUS was Consul, Prætor; and Saturninus, who had been once before a Tribune of the People, solicited for that Post a second Time, that he might use the Power annex'd to that Dignity, against *Metellus*. But on the Day of Election, *Nonius*, one of *Saturninus*'s Competitors, took Occasion to describe to the People in such lively Colours, the various Crimes he was guilty of, that this People, in whom there was yet a Remnant of the ancient Probity of their Ancestors, blush'd at their first Design of putting so wicked a Man at their Head. He did not get one single Vote, and *Nonius* was chosen in his Stead. This Preference cost him his Life. Saturninus Nonius is

Idem.
Ibid.

caus'd him to be stabb'd at the breaking up of the Assembly; and *Glaucia*, with whom he had contriv'd this Murder, having called the People together again the next Morning early, his Adherents, in a riotous Manner declared *Saturninus* elected Tribune, before any considerable Part of the People was yet arrived at the Place of Election.

Marius's
artful and
fallacious
Management
against
Metellus.

These three Men, now Masters of the whole Administration, contriv'd instantly how to undo *Metellus*. To succeed therein, *Saturninus*, as Tribune of the People, renew'd the antient Quarrel about the sharing of Lands. But to give a new Life to a Faction almost extinct, he propos'd a new Object of their Animosity. *Marius* and *Catulus*, by the Defeat of the *Cimbri*, having recover'd some Lands in the *Gallia Cisalpina*, of which those Barbarians had taken Possession, he propos'd to share them among the poorest Citizens that dwelt in the Country, most of them People without House or Home, whom *Marius* had made use of in that War, and were entirely devoted to him. To this Proposal he added a Clause, That, if the People approv'd of it, the Senate should be oblig'd within five Days to pass it into a Law; That every Senator should be oblig'd to swear solemnly to it in the Temple of *Saturn*; and that whoever refus'd to take that Oath, should be expell'd the Senate, and condemn'd to a Fine of Twenty Talents. Then they notify'd the Day of Meeting. *Marius* sent privately to all those of his Party in the Country, desiring them to come thither in as great Bodies as possibly they could; and they came accordingly from all Parts of *Italy*. *Saturninus* flatter'd himself, that by their numerous Appearance he would make the Law pass. But the Citizens who dwelt in *Rome*, jealous, and resenting that the Inhabitants of the Country were preferr'd to them, made an open and strong Opposition. This tumultuous
Meeting

Meeting divided into two Bodies. The Citizens finding themselves the weakest, that the Assembly might be dissolv'd, cried out, *That they heard it thunder*; which, according to the Laws and Principles of their Religion, oblig'd 'em to suspend, for that Day, all Deliberations and Affairs. But the Country People having amongst them some veteran Soldiers, most of 'em Men of Mettle, disregarding that superstitious Custom, fell upon the Citizens with Stones and Sticks, drove them from the *Forum*, and then got the Law pass'd.

Marius, who was secretly at the Bottom of all this, and the chief Manager of the Plot, call'd the Senate together, as being Consul, to deliberate upon the Oath prescrib'd by that Law, and which was now very haughtily demanded of every Senator. As he knew *Metellus* to be an upright Man, and firm in his Resolutions, to draw him into the Snare, he feign'd, as if he detested so unjust a Law; which, he said, could have no other Aim, than to revive the antient Seditions. He added, that for himself, he should never take an Oath so prejudicial to the Common-wealth. *Metellus*, as he had very well foreseen, did not fail to declare himself of his Opinion; and he was seconded by the Votes of the whole Senate.

Marius having drawn such a Declaration from a Man, whom he knew incapable of turning, called the Senate on the fifth Day, as prescrib'd by that Law for taking the Oath, and then he pull'd off the Mask. He said, that he had very seriously reflected on that great Affair; that there would infallibly happen a very great Tumult, if they persisted to refuse absolutely the taking of the proposed Oath; that every Thing was to be fear'd from the Fury and Resentment of that Multitude of unpolish'd and incens'd Men: But that to dazzle their Eyes, and to set 'em going out of *Rome* to their own Homes, he thought they might extri-

cate themselves out of the present Difficulty by Means of an Oath, conceiv'd in dark and equivocal Terms; and that it was his Opinion, an Oath to that Law should be taken; but with this express Proviso, *If it was Law*. He added, That after those Country People should be return'd to their Habitations, it would be easy, in another less riotous Assembly, to demonstrate to the People of the City, that the Proposition of a Tribune, receiv'd only by Rioters, and in such Circumstances, as by Law and Religion made all Things done on such a Day void, could not be look'd upon as Law.

The Hypocrite having thus varnish'd over his Breach of Faith, goes from the Senate-House, attended by his whole Party, directly to the Temple of *Saturn*, and there takes the Oath pure and simple, without the Restriction he propos'd himself. Those of his Party did the same, and the greatest Number of Senators, either through Corruption, or Fear of Banishment, follow'd his Example. *Metellus* alone, courageously persisted in his former Opinion; and it was chiefly upon his Firmness that his Enemies had built and grounded their Hopes of effecting his Ruin. *Saturninus*, appriz'd that he had not taken the Oath in the Time prescrib'd by the Law, sends a Messenger to expel him the Senate. But the other Tribunes of the People, who were not of that Cabal, and who rever'd the Virtue of *Metellus*, unanimously opposed and prevented the Affront designed to be put on that Man.

Metellus
banish'd.

Saturninus, incens'd to find a Stop put to his Designs, sends for all those Country People back again to *Rome*. He summoned the Assembly, got up into the *Rostrum*, and after having inveighed strongly against *Metellus*, declared to all that Populace, That they must never hope for their Shares of the Lands, nor the Execution of the Law concerning it, as long as *Metellus* should abide in

Rome. Upon the Remonstrances of that seditious Tribune, the Assembly condemn'd *Metellus* to Banishment, if that very Day he refus'd to take the Oath enacted by that Law. The Nobility, the whole Senate, and even the honestest Part of the People, offer'd to oppose this most unjust Decree of the Populace. Many, out of Affection for the Person of *Metellus*, had even armed themselves secretly under their long Robes and Town Habits. But that wise Senator, who truly loved his Country, after having in a tender Manner returned them Thanks for the Love they had express'd for him, declar'd he would never suffer that a single Drop of Blood should be spilt on his Account. And it is said, that after having resolv'd to go into Banishment, he should say to his intimate Friends, to justify himself on Account of that Resolution, That either Peace and Quietness would be restor'd in the Common-wealth, in which Case he did not doubt of his being recall'd; or that, if the Administration remain'd in such Hands as those of *Saturninus*, nothing could be more advantageous to him, than to be at a Distance from *Rome*. He then went into Exile: His Virtue and great Character made him to be received in every Place he went through, as a Fellow-Citizen: He seem'd no Stranger in any Place: And having fix'd that of his Abode in the Isle of *Rhodes*, he there enjoy'd, in a sweet Tranquility, that natural Empire, which Virtue bestows without the Admission of Places and Dignities.

The Common-wealth fell a Prey to *Saturninus*, Saturninus's Tyranny. by the Retreat of *Metellus*. *Marius*, to acknowledge the Services he had done him in this Affair, suffer'd him to exercise an open Tyranny in *Rome*. There was not any Liberty left at the Elections: Force carried every Thing. That furious Tribune, always accompanied with a Band of Assassins instead of Guards, got himself continued in

Year of Rome,
654.

Memmius
murder'd.

the Tribunate for the third Time, and procur'd to be one of his Colleagues, a run-away Slave, named *L. Equilius Firmanus*, who called himself a Son of *Tiberius Gracchus*; he proceeded at last to that Degree of Violence, that having resolv'd to raise *Glaucia*, the Accomplice of all his Crimes, to the Consulship, he caused *Memmius*, an eminent *Patrician*, because he was *Glaucia's* Rival, to be beaten to Death by *P. Mettius*, one of his Guards.

Saturni-
nus and
Glaucia
proclaim'd
Enemies to
their
Country.

This Murder caus'd the better Sort of People to take up Arms; even the Populace join'd the Senate; the Place of the Assembly was like a Field of Battle, where the Blood of the Citizens was spilt with Impunity. *Saturninus*, *Glaucia*, *C. Sausenius*, then *Quæstor*, and their Party, finding themselves the weakest, seiz'd upon the Capitol. The Senate, by a public Decree, proclaimed them Enemies to their Country, and order'd *Marius* to prosecute them as such. He was oblig'd to arm, but he did it so slowly, as made it apparent, it was much against his Inclination, that he obey'd the Orders of the Senate.

The People well acquainted with his Inclinations and secret Intrigues, weary of his apparent Delays, for which he always pleaded some Excuse, and bearing with Uneasiness those Profligates to continue in the strongest Part of the Town, cut the Pipes that carried Water into the Capitol, and soon reduced those Rioters to a desperate Thirst. The greatest Part, rather than surrender, were for setting Fire to some Neighbouring Houses, in Hopes they should make their Escape during the Confusion and Tumult that is common in such Accidents: But *Saturninus* and *Glaucia*, depending upon their Intimacy with *Marius*, surrender'd to him. He caused them to be confin'd in the Palace, as if he design'd to have brought them to a regular Trial. But that House was rather a Place of Safety for them, than a Prison,

son, and he had set Guards upon them, less to prevent their running away, than to secure them against the Attempts of their Enemies.

These Precautions did not hinder the People, now work'd up into a violent Passion, from doing themselves Justice. Part of them drive away the Guards, and surround the Place of their Confinement; others get upon the Top of the House, take down the Tiles, and with them and Stones kill *Saturninus*, *Glaucia*, *Saufeius*, and that Band of Profligates that had been secured there with them. Their Death was as the Signal for the Restoration of *Metellus*. His Relations, Friends, or rather the whole Senate, demanded his Repeal of the People in a public Assembly. All unanimously voted his Return, except one single Tribune of the People called *Furius*, who had the Confidence to oppose the Wishes of all his Fellow-citizens.

This Tribune was no better than the Son of a Freed-man; but as he was invested with a Dignity which gave him the Right of Opposition, the Friends of *Metellus* did all they could to prevail with him to waive it. Even the Son of *Metellus* threw himself down at his Feet, in the Midst of the Assembly, and with Tears in his Eyes, conjur'd him to restore his Father to him; which was the Occasion of his bearing afterwards the Surname of *Metellus Pius*. But the Tribune, deaf to all Intreaties, rejected his Petition with a very harsh Usage. Luckily *C. Canuleius* was chosen Tribune of the People the next Year. That *Plebeian* Magistrate having a Respect for the great Merit of *Metellus*, not only took off this Opposition, but fell upon *Furius* himself, and impeach'd him that Moment before the People. He laid before them, with a great deal of Rhetoric, his Inhumanity, and the ill Use he had made of the Prerogatives of his Dignity. He urged, that to satisfy his private Passion, he had deprived his

Saturninus and Glaucia murder'd.

Metellus recalled. Year of Rome, 654.

Ap. Alex. L. 1. Cic. in Raber.

The Tribune Furius torn in Pieces by the Populace.
Ap. Alex.
Ibid.

Country of one of the best Citizens in the whole Common-wealth. In short, he render'd his Colleague so odious, that the People, without so much as hearing his Defence, tore him immediately to Pieces. And the Tribunate, that sacred Magistracy, which had been established for no other End, than to protect and defend the Citizens, was violated in the Person of a Tribune, for having attempted to carry his Authority too far.

Marius goes into Asia; and why.

The Restoration of *Metellus* meeting with no farther Obstacle, he returned to *Rome*. The whole City went out to meet him, and his Return was a real Triumph. The whole Day was not sufficient for receiving the Compliments of the Senate, and the Applauses of the People. Every Body thought they saw Justice, Peace, and Liberty, return with him. *MARIUS* alone, always jealous of his Glory, and not able either to hinder or to bear his Return, went out of *Rome*, and embark'd, under Pretence of going into *Asia*, to offer certain Sacrifices, which he had vow'd, as he said, to the Mother of the Gods, during the War with the *Tentones* and *Cimbri*. Besides the Presence of *Metellus*, which he shunn'd, and which seem'd to reproach him continually with Ungratefulness, there was a secret Motive which obliged him to quit *Rome*, and go as far as *Asia*. *MARIUS*, a great General, but of a rough Temper, and accusom'd to that absolute Authority which goes along with the Command of the Armies, did in a Manner languish in peaceable Times, and even wanted those Talents which are necessary to gain Applause in a Common-wealth, where generally Men were advanced to the Administration by their Eloquence.

A War was necessary for him to regain his Credit. If we may believe *Plutarch*, the private Design of his Voyage was to kindle one in *Asia*, and especially to draw the *Romans* into a Declaration

of

of War against *Mitbridates*, the most powerful King in all the *East*, who was suspected of entring into Leagues, and making Preparations against the *Romans*. *Marius* would have been wonderfully glad of effecting his Design, not doubting but he should have the Command of the Forces employ'd in that War, gain new Victories, and enrich his Family with the Spoils of the *East*.

It is said, that being at the Court of that great *Marius* at Prince, and having made him some Overtures, to *Mithridates* tes's court. did not answer directly to the Point, *It is necessary*, *Mithridates* (said he) *either that you find* Plut. in *a Way to become more powerful than the Romans, or* Mario. *submit to the Law of the strongest.* The King of *Pontus*, the proudest Prince of his Time, and used to the slavish Language commonly spoke in King's Palaces, seemed surprized at the Discourse of that bold Common-wealth's Man: But as he was no less a Politician than a great General, and as his Preparations were not yet compleat, he concealed his Displeasure, and sent *Marius* away loaded with Presents.

That *Roman*, after having visited Part of *Asia*, *Marius* returned to *Rome*, where he found but few Friends, meets with and yet less Credit. His harsh and haughty Man- but few ners were not becoming in a free State, where Friends. every Body thinks himself very near upon the Level with the best, and where the great Ones acquire and preserve their Creatures only by their Caresses and good Offices. He met with the Fate of most great Warriors, who live to be old in a Peace of long Continuance; that is to say, his Victories were forgot; and he was look'd upon, says *Plutarch*, at best, like those old Weapons, cover'd all over with Rust, and laid by as useless for the future. Besides, there was a new Race of younger Generals, who had engrossed all the Favour of the Public; and among those of the *Patrician* Or-
der

Sylla's
Eulogy.

der the most taken Notice of, *Sylla*, whom we have mentioned before, held the first Rank.

We have seen how dextrously that *Patrician* had at once put an End to the *Numidian* War, by obliging *Bocchus* to deliver *Jugurtha* up to him. It was with the same Ability, that whilst the *Romans* had their Hands full with the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, he hindered the *Marfi* * from declaring for those Barbarians. Nobody, next to *Marius*, had a greater Share in the Defeat of the *Cimbri*, one of whose Kings he took Prisoner himself.

Marius's
Hatred to
Sylla.

Marius, jealous of all Sorts of Merit, but chiefly of the Characters built on the Fame of warlike Exploits, forced *Sylla*, by repeated ill Usage, to quit the Service. *Catulus*, who knew his Valour and Capacity, offered him in his Army the same Post he had enjoyed in that of *Marius*, with the additional Promise of reposing an entire Confidence in him. *Sylla*, full of Fire, Action, and Courage, was a great Help to him in all the Parts that are particularly the General's; and as *Catulus* was old and slow, every Thing fell upon *Sylla*. He it was that regulated the Marches, Imcampments, Detachments of Parties, and took Care to supply the Army with Provisions. Nothing was out of his Way. And whilst *Marius* wanted Necessaries in his Camp, there was so great an Abundance in that of *Catulus*, that his Soldiers bestow'd Quantities very liberally on those of his Colleague. It is said, that *Marius* thereupon conceived the most violent Jealousy against *Sylla*, that he look'd on that Liberality as an indirect Method of seducing his Soldiers, and that it was one of the Motives that kindled afterwards between them that Hatred, the Consequences whereof were so fatal to the Common-wealth. That Hatred began to show

* A Nation of Italy, bordering on the Samnites, and inhabiting that Part of the Kingdom of Naples, now call'd the farther Abruzzo.

itself on Occasion of some Representation of the Victory by Figures, and of certain golden Images, which *Bocchus* consecrated in the Capitol. Those Images described the Manner in which he had delivered *Jugurtha* into the Hands of *Sylla*. *Marius* attempted to carry off those Monuments, because they seemed to attribute to his Quæstor, who was but an inferior Officer, all the Glory of an Event, which had happened during his Consulship. *Sylla*, on his Side, opposed it with all his Credit, and an insuperable Firmness. They very near came to Blows, and this at a Time when every Thing at *Rome* was carried by mere Force and Violence. Every Body took Party according to his Interest or Inclination; all *Rome* was divided; and a Matter of so little Moment, maintained on both Sides by two proud and haughty Men, who hated each other, revived that Antipathy between the Nobility and People, which derived its Beginning almost from the very Foundation of the Commonwealth. Cabals and Factions were formed; each called upon his Friends and Dependants to assist him. In short, the City was in that turbulent Motion, which is commonly a Fore-runner of a Civil War, when the Death of *Livius Drusus* occasioned the *Social War*, that suspended all those domestic Strifes.

It may not be amiss here to explain in what *Origin of* Manner this foreign War took its Birth within *the Social* *Rome* itself, and afterwards spread all over *Italy*. *War.*

The *Romans* were wont to vary their Forms of Government, according to the Temper and Customs of the different Nations that were subject to them. The Citizens, whether they dwelt in *Rome*, *Roman* or in any Part of the Country, being registered in *Citizens*; the Rolls of their Tribe, gave their Names in to *what they* the Censors, those of their Children, their Slaves, *were.* as also a Valuation of their Estates; upon which the Taxes they were to pay were regulated. None

but Citizens were allow'd to lift in those invincible Legions, which made *Rome* the Mistress of the World. They chose their Commanders and their Magistrates. They voted for Peace, or for War; and the Right of voting being attach'd to the Quality of each *Roman* Citizen, made every one a Sharer in the Sovereignty of the State. The several Nations of *Latium* (the *Latin* Country) had either submitted themselves to the Commonwealth, or had been conquered and subdued by Force of Arms. They were obliged to pay the Taxes that were imposed on them; and furnished, in Times of War, such a Number of Horse and Foot, as were demanded of them. In other Matters, though in some Respect they made a Part of the Commonwealth, and help'd to bear the Charges of it, yet were they not admitted to Offices, nor had they any Right of voting. It is true, that in dangerous or difficult Times, in order to bind them the faster to the Interests of the Commonwealth, some Indulgence was shown them in those Points, as was particularly done at the Time of the second *Punic* War; lest those different Nations, which altogether, and united, made the greatest Strength of the Commonwealth, should be debauch'd by *Hannibal*, full as much skill'd in bringing about such Sort of Defections and Revolts, as he was to be dreaded in the Field. But as soon as the Danger was over, the *Romans* omitted no Means to make them sensible, that those Concessions had been designed only as occasional Favours, from which they were not for the future to claim any Right. However, every City in *Latium* was governed by one of her own Citizens; elected by a Majority of Voices, who, under the Title of *Prætor*, administred Justice to them: And that *Prætor*, after the Expiration of his Office, was register'd as a *Roman* Citizen. That Office conferred on him the Privileges of Nobility; and this Prerogative distinguished that State

*Privileges
of La-
tium.*

State from all other Countries, which were called *Provinces* of the Common-wealth; to which a Prætor was sent from *Rome*, to administer Justice, and a Quæstor to levy the Taxes.

These Nations in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, as we observed before, had long demanded the Right and Name of *Roman* Citizens. They remonstrated, That they paid considerable Taxes: That in War Time, their Country alone raised double the Number of Forces, to what *Rome* and its Territories did: That the Common-wealth ow'd partly to their Valour that prodigious Power to which it was risen: And that it was but just they should share the Honours of a State, whose Empire they had enlarg'd by their Arms. We have seen above in what Manner *Caius Gracchus* perish'd, for having endeavoured to obtain that Right of *Roman* Citizens for the *Latins*. The Senate and Nobles opposed him; pretending it was not just to make those their Equals and Fellow-Citizens, who were in Reality Subjects of the Common-wealth. But the true Motive of their Opposition was, that they could not bear any Body should go about to render the Party of the People stronger, by making it more numerous with these Associates. The Death of *Caius* did not frighten *Drusus's* *Drusus*, because he flattered himself with Success, *Scheme.* if he took another Method, by seeking to make himself the Mediator betwixt the two Parties: A Design, in Truth, very commendable; but as much beyond his Capacity, as his Credit. It was to render himself agreeable to both, that he proposed, during his second Tribunate, to restore to the Senate the Right of enquiring into the Crimes of Extortion, which had been conferred on the *Year of* *Rome.* *662.* Equestrian Order; and to make that second Order amends, by letting into the Senate three hundred of them; and by Favour of those two Laws, he endeavoured to get those of *Caius Gracchus* to pass,

pass, relating to the Division of Lands, and the Rights of Citizenship, in Behalf of the *Latins*.

Tit. Liv. But he found the Senators and the Knights
 l. 17. equally averse to those Proposals. The Senate
 App. l. 1. seemed to resent, that a Tribune should offer to
 Oros. l. 5. thrust into that august Assembly three hundred
 c. 18. Knights, who must carry all before them by their
 Autor de Numbers: And those of the Knights, who had
 Viris il- Reason to fear they should not be of the three
 lustr. c. 66. hundred designed for Senators, would not consent
 that their Body should be deprived of a Jurisdiction
 and a Tribunal, which made them very consider-
 able in *Rome*. So that these two Orders, though
 otherwise divided in their Interests, yet agreed to
 reject the Laws proposed by *Drusus*. He met still
 with a stronger Opposition about the Laws of
Caius, which he designed to renew. The very
 Name of *Agrarian* Laws stirr'd up the Resentment
 of those, who were possessed of Estates in con-
 quered Lands: And the great Men of *Rome*, accu-
 stom'd to that Empire they exercised over the Na-
 tions subjected to the Common-wealth, could never
 forgive *Drusus* the Attempt of making those their
 Fellow-citizens, whom they always looked upon
 as their Subjects. Such opposite Interests gave
 Birth to continual Disputes in all their Assem-
 blies: And as every Thing there was carried less
 by the Rules of Equity, than by the Strength and
 Credit of each Party; a great Body of *Latins* was
 come to *Rome*, to support their Protector: But that
 avail'd him not; he could not escape the Fury of
 his Opposers. Surrounded by a Multitude of
 People that were about his Tribunal, which he had
 caused to be placed in a dark Gallery in his House,
 he was stabb'd in his Side with a Knife, which the
 Murderer left in the Wound, and of which he
 died. It was impossible to discover who gave the
 Blow, he being lost in the Crowd: But *Quintius*
Varius, Tribune of the People, made himself sus-
 pected,

Drusus
stab'd.

pected, by a Law which he proposed some Time after the Death of *Drusus*. That Law declared Traitors, and Enemies of the State, all such as should propose again to grant the Prerogative of Citizenship to Strangers, or Nations of *Italy*, that were Subjects of the Common-wealth.

The Death of *Drusus*, murdered in his Tribunal, for having attempted to procure the Right of Citizens to those Nations, gave Birth to that War which was called *Social*, or of the Confederates: Those Nations, enraged to see themselves frustrated of their Hopes and Pretensions, by the Murder of their Protector, resolved to obtain their Ends by Force of Arms. The principal Cities first sent Deputies to each other privately to communicate their Resentment. Next, they signed a League, and gave each other mutual Hostages. Every District made a Provision of Arms and Horses: Soldiers were listed; Generals appointed. *T. Afranius*, *P. Ventidius*, *M. Egnatius*, and *Vetius Cato*, all Officers of great Name, were to command different Bodies. But before they began any Acts of Hostility, they sent Deputies to *Rome*, demanding, in the Name of all the Nations in *Italy*, that were either Allies, or Dependants on the Common-wealth, to be received into the Number of *Roman* Citizens.

The Senate, equally informed of their Pretensions, and of their Forces, peremptorily refused to hear their Deputies; and Word was sent them, That they should have no Audience, till those that sent them had departed from the Confederacy they had lately signed: And with this Answer they were dismissed.

The Confederates, upon the Return of their Deputies, took up Arms every where at the same Time. At once was seen, in the Heart of *Italy*, an Army of an hundred thousand Men, all in Conspiracy against *Rome*: And what rendered those

Social War.
Year of Rome,
663.
App. l. 1.
Vell. l. 2.
Plin. l. 2.
c. 83.

those Forces formidable, was, that they were commanded by excellent Generals, who had been bred and train'd up in the *Roman* Armies and Discipline.

*Year of
Rome,
663.*

The Senate, on its Part, arm'd with uncommon Speed, and rais'd a greater Number of Legions than usual. *Sextus Julius Cæsar*, and *P. Rutilius Lupus*, both Consuls this Year, took the Field, and headed each an Army. They had for Lieutenants, *C. Marius*, *Cn. Pompeius*, *Cornelius Sylla*, and *Licinius Crassus*; who bore the Character of being the ablest Generals of the *Roman* State, and who had all of them commanded Armies as Consuls and Generals. But the Love of their Country was the Cause that those very Men, who had commanded in chief during one Year, did not disdain to serve the following in the same Armies as Lieutenants. To them the Titles of Pro-consuls was given; and though always dependant on the two Consuls, and their Directions, yet they commanded separate Bodies, because of the many Places where they had Enemies to oppose.

Never had the Common-wealth so many different Armies, at the same Time, in *Italy* before. For Fear of a Surprise, Guards were quartered at all the Gates and Avenues of *Rome*, during a War, wherein the Soldiery of the two opposite Parties were dressed in the same Manner, spoke the same Language, and knew each other; so that it was not easy to distinguish between the Citizen and the Enemy. Many were the bloody Rencounters, Battles and Cities taken. Fortune often changed Sides, which weakened each of them by Turns, without abating any Thing of their Fierceness and Fury. At last the Senate observing, that even the Victories gained by the Common-wealth were fatal and destructive; and that by destroying its Allies, it lost so many brave Soldiers, who before fought its Battles; that wise Body thought fit to abate
of

*The Senate
favour-
able to
Allies.*

of its former Stiffness, yet gave Way but gradually, by little and little, that they might still keep up the Dignity of the *Roman* Name; and also, by that Method, to sow Divisions among the Allies. That Right and Prerogative of Citizens, which had occasion'd this War, was at first granted only to the nearest Neighbours of *Rome*, or such as had not taken up Arms, or offer'd the first to lay them down. This Conduct allay'd the Fire of the Enemies: The Confederates distrusting each other, hasten'd to make their separate Peace: And the *Romans*, on their Side, thought it became their Greatness better, to abate of their Demands in Behalf of a divided and weaken'd Enemy, than to have given Way to the entire Body of the Confederacy, even when it was in its greatest Strength. At last all these several Nations successively, obtain'd the Right of Citizens of *Rome*, except the *Lucanians* and *Samnites*, their Neighbours, a fierce and courageous People, jealous of, and Enemies to, *Rome's* Greatness, and who maintain'd the War some time longer; though it was more an effect of their Inveteracy, than an Argument of their Strength.

App.
Alex. l. 1.
Vel. Pat.
l. 2.

Although the Senate had granted that Prerogative to the Neighbours of *Rome*, they almost reduc'd it to nothing by the Manner and Articles of the Convention. For, instead of distributing that Multitude of new Citizens into the old five and thirty Tribes, where, by their Numbers, they would have been Masters of almost all Deliberations; the Senate very dextrously, and with their own Consent, made eight new Tribes of them all. And as by their Creation, they were always the last that gave their Votes; there was no need of counting them, when the old Tribes did agree. So that this Right of Burghership, which had cost the Confederates so much Blood, was to them scarce any Thing but an empty Title, without Authority, and without Business.

Eight new
Tribes.

It was not long before they were sensible, that they had been put altogether under the eight last Tribes, with no other View, than to render their Votes useless. The Senate however flatter'd themselves, that by this Stratagem they had restor'd Peace to *Italy*, and thought of making War in the *East*; when the Jealousy betwixt the Great occasion'd a Civil-war to ensue immediately upon that of the Confederates. *Marius*, upwards of seventy Years old, had not maintain'd in this War, that great Reputation, which he had acquir'd in that against the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*; whether because of the Heaviness and Slowness concomitant to old Age, or that Fortune had not thrown Occasions of signalizing himself in his Way, cannot be known: For he had even kept himself almost all along upon the defensive. *Sylla*, on the contrary, lively, active and impetuous, had gain'd great Battles, taken considerable Towns, and had distinguish'd himself throughout this War by so many and glorious Successes, that immediately upon the Peace, he had the Consulate conferr'd upon him, as the first Reward of his Services. He was afterwards declar'd Governor of *Asia Minor*, and Commander in Chief in the War against *Mithridates*; the mightiest Prince of all the *East*, a great General; but unjust, cruel, bloody, as most Conquerors are, and whose Empire was mostly made up of States usurp'd from his Neighbours. His Forces were proportion'd to his Designs and Ambition. They reckon'd in his Armies no less than two hundred and fifty thousand Foot, fifty thousand Horse, and an infinite Number of arm'd Chariots: And his Sea-Ports contain'd more than four hundred Ships of War. Able Generals were at the Head of those different Bodies; but he himself was still the prime Director of the whole: And where he did not command in Person, he alone directed their Operations. He had made himself

*Sylla sent
against
Mithrida-
tes.*

*Tear of
Rome,
665.*

himself Master of *Cappadocia* and *Bithinia*, which he had conquer'd from *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes*, the Sovereigns of those Kingdoms, and Allies of the Roman State. All *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Greece*, *Athens*, and most of the *Cyclades* Islands, had undergone the same Fate. And the Senate having sent to him, to desire he would withdraw his Forces from all those Provinces which were under the Protection of the Common-wealth; that Prince, to shew he feared neither their Power nor Resentment, caused in one Day above one hundred and fifty thousand *Romans* to be murder'd, most of them Merchants; who, trusting to the Peace, had settled and traded in the *East*, and in the principal Towns of *Greece*. He threaten'd *Rome* itself, and all *Italy*, with the Power of his Arms, when *Sylla* was named to have the Direction of the War against him.

Mithridates's Usurpation.

Romans murder'd in Asia to the Number of 150,000 in one Day. Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 18.

Marius, whose Ambition was yet like that of a young Man, and who (as we have seen) aim'd at that Command, look'd on this Preference as an Injustice done to him. It seem'd as if all the Preferments of the Common-wealth did of Right belong to him. He resolv'd to carry that of making War upon *Mithridates*, from *Sylla*. He brought over to his Interest a Tribune of the People, call'd *P. Sulpitius*, an inveterate Enemy to *Sylla*; a great Orator, a bold and enterprising Man; who, besides, was much regarded in *Rome*, upon Account of his great Riches, and of his vast Number of Clients; and yet more fear'd for the Mischief he could do, and the Influence and Interest his Office gave him.

Competition between Marius and Sylla.

Vell. Pat. l. 2.

These two Men, united in the common Hatred they bore to *Sylla*, and to the Body of the Nobility, agreed, before they declared themselves, to strengthen their Party. To succeed herein, *Sulpitius*, who had discover'd how much the Confederates were dissatisfied to see themselves rank'd

Marius unites with Sulpitius.

in the eight lowermost Tribes of the Commonwealth; proposed in their Behalf to suppress those eight Tribes, and to incorporate afterwards all those *Italians* that compos'd them, into the five and thirty ancient Tribes. He promis'd himself from their great Numbers, to become Master of all public Resolutions. The ancient Citizens, instructed by the Senate, soon perceived, that if these new Tribes were let in amongst them, the Strangers, who were but lately admitted to the Rank of Citizens by Favour, would insensibly ruin the Credit of those very Men, who had conferr'd that Favour on them. Those Considerations determin'd them to oppose the Publication of that Law. The Tribune, on his Side, supported by those new Citizens, whom he on purpose sent for to *Rome*, was resolv'd to make it pass by main Force. The two Parties came to Blows; and there were a great Number of Citizens kill'd on both Sides, during the Contest. The Night coming on, parted the Assembly before any Thing was decided.

Sulpitius's Infolence.

The Consuls, to distance the Day of another Assembly, proclaim'd Holy-Days upon different Pretences; during which, it was forbidden to do any Business. *Sulpitius*, without any Regard to those Holy-Days, summon'd the People. He came there himself at the Head of six hundred of his Party, with Arms under their Gowns; a Sort of Guards that every where attended him, and which he used to call the *Anti Senate*. He sent to the two Consuls, summoning them to come to the Assembly, and instantly to revoke the Holy-Days which they had proclaim'd; that the People might be at Liberty to give their Votes about the abrogating the eight late Tribes, as he had propos'd in the last Meeting.

The Anti-Senate of Sulpitius.

A Tumult.

This Discourse rais'd a great Commotion betwixt the old and new Citizens. Those of *Sulpitius's* Side drew their Swords, and fell on the People, who ran

ran away; and the Son of *Q. Pompeius*, Son-in-Law to *Sylla*, was kill'd, as he was succouring his Father. *Pompeius* hid himself in the Throng: *Sylla* being pursued by his Enemies, fled into the very House of *MARIUS*, having found the Door open. *MARIUS*, tho' naturally cruel and revengeful, forbore killing a Man who had taken Refuge in his House: He sav'd his Life. But to keep it, he was obliged to return to the Assembly, and to declare, That he abolish'd and repeal'd the Holy-Days. He then withdrew himself from that Assembly; and not thinking himself any longer safe in *Rome*, where the opposite Party prevail'd, he quitted the City instantly, and made haste to put himself at the Head of those Troops, which he commanded in the Confederate War, and which were to march under his Command into the *East*, against *Mithridates*. The Holy-Days being repeal'd, and both the Consuls fled, *Sulpitius*, now Master and Absolute in *Rome*, got without any Difficulty the Law to pass, that had been the Occasion of the Tumult: And by the same Law, he took from *Sylla* the Command of the Army above-mention'd, causing the People to commission *MARIUS* in his Stead.

That General sent immediately some Officers of his Party, to take Possession of the Command till he could go himself: But *Sylla* had prevented them, as we have related. He had drawn over all the Soldiers to his Interest; giving them Hopes of enriching them with the Spoils of the *East*; so that instead of obeying the Orders that came from *MARIUS*, they knock'd his Officers on the Head, and besought *Sylla* to lead them against his Enemies at *Rome*, before he transported them to *Asia*. *MARIUS*, incens'd at the Death of his Officers, used Reprizals; caused several of *Sylla*'s Friends to be put to Death, and their Houses to be plunder'd: Which obliged others hastily to quit *Rome*, and seek a Refuge in *Sylla*'s Camp. These Massacres determin'd

the latter to march strait to *Rome*. He was at the Head of six Legions ; whose Soldiers, animated with his Spirit, fought nothing but Revenge and Plunder. But several Officers, averse to turn their Arms against their own Country, quitted the Service ; so that nothing was seen on the Roads, but People flying from the City to the Camp, to escape *MARIUS*'s Cruelty ; and on the other Hand, People that were going from the Camp to *Rome*, to avoid taking either Side in this Civil-war. In the mean Time *Sylla* was still approaching ; and he was met on the way by *Q. Pompeius*, his Colleague in the Consulship, who join'd him.

MARIUS and *Sulpitius*, who had no Army to oppose him, interposed the Authority of the Magistracy, and sent to him *Brutus* and *Servilius*, both Prætors, with their Adherents ; who very haughtily commanded *Sylla* to stop his March. His Soldiers, incens'd at the Manner in which those two Prætors had spoke to their General, broke the Fasces and Axes, which the Lictors were wont to carry before those Magistrates. They fell upon them, tore their purple Gowns, and had certainly kill'd them, if *Sylla* had not prevented.

The Disorder those two Magistrates were in, when they re-enter'd *Rome*, made them sensible, that all Respect for the Laws was laid aside, and that Violence and superior Power was henceforth to determine all Things. *MARIUS* and *Sulpitius*, who knew themselves in no Condition to resist a potent and incensed Enemy, dispatch'd to him, in the Name of the Senate, some new Deputies to endeavour at least to retard his March. Those Deputies intreated the two Consuls to suspend their Anger and Resentment, and not to bring their Army nearer to *Rome* than about * five Miles, telling them, that while their Troops were refreshing themselves, the Senate was in Hopes of

* *Five Miles, or forty Stadia, or two French Leagues.*

bringing Matters to an Accommodation, and giving them full Satisfaction.

The two Consuls easily perceiving, that they were App. amused only to give Time to MARIUS to raise For- Alex. l. 1. ces; in order to deceive the Deputies, made as if they accepted their Proposals. SYLLA, in their Presence, commanded his Officers to mark out a Camp, and to appoint Quarters in the Neighbourhood they were in. But no sooner were the Depu- Sylla enters Rome tics gone, but he sent all his Horse at their Heels, Sword in Hand. and soon began his March with his whole Army, arriving before the Gates of Rome, when his Enemies believed him still in his Camp.

His Forces enter'd the City Sword in Hand, as they would have done a Town taken from an Enemy by Storm. MARIUS and SULPITIUS, though surprized, oppos'd their Passage with a Body of their Party that had join'd them; and the People, fearing the Town should be plunder'd, declared in their Favour, and threw Darts and Stones from the Tops of the Houses on SYLLA's Soldiers. But that General having threatened to set Fire to them, and taken a Torch in his own Hand, the People discontinued those Acts of Hostility, and remain'd Spectators of the Fight between the two Parties. Plut. in their Aid, though they promised Liberty to such Slaves as should arm in their Defence; Nobody offer'd to stir; and SYLLA's Forces still gaining Ground, drove them to the Temple of the Goddess *Tellus*, whence they were oblig'd to fly and quit Rome. SYLLA seeing himself Master of the City, posted Guards in all the open Places, to prevent Disorder. He even caused some of his Soldiers to be punish'd severely, for having entered some Houses to plunder them; and he was himself busy all Night in visiting the different Quarters, to restrain the Soldiers, commonly insolent upon a Victory, and to prevent the Citizens being abused.

The two Consuls having employed the whole Night in providing for the public Safety, their next Care in the Morning was to get their Conduct, though very extraordinary, approved and authorized by some new Laws, and to cloath themselves, at least outwardly, with some Show of Right, which seldom fails those who have the Power in their Hands. To obtain this, they form'd the Design of raising anew the Authority of the Senate, which the Tribunes of the People had much impaired by that infinite Number of new Laws made to favour the People, most of which had been enacted by seditious Men, and an arm'd Force. With that View they summon'd an Assembly of the *Roman* People. SYLLA, naturally a good Orator, deplored the Calamities of the Common-wealth, in Terms no less moving than lively. He represented to the Assembly, that the Differences which for so long a Time had disturb'd the City and the State, proceeded only from the mutinous and turbulent Spirit of the Tribunes, who, to make themselves considerable, omitted nothing that could provoke the Hatred of the People against the Senate. That those popular Magistrates, who had been instituted in the Beginning with no other View, than to prevent Violence which should be offer'd to any *Roman* Citizen, had imperceivably, and under different Colours, rendered themselves absolute Masters of the whole Administration. That by new Laws, unknown to their Ancestors, they had found the Secret to reduce to nothing the Authority of the Consuls, and the Dignity of the Senate. That to cause those Innovations and Encroachments, which they covered over with the plausible Name of Laws, to be tolerated, they had in the Election of Magistrates, abolished the Custom, establish'd from Time immemorial, of taking the Votes of Centuries; and in the Room of that ancient Method, had substituted

substituted that of collecting the Votes by Tribes, and chiefly in the Election of Tribunes of the People. That by this Change, wherein the Votes of the Nobles, and the Rich, were confounded with those of the Poor, instead of being told by Centuries, the Populace was become the Masters of all Elections, and that their Choice most commonly fell upon seditious Men, rather than People of good Characters. That to root out Abuses so pernicious to the Quiet of the Common-wealth, it was his Opinion, That for the future it should not be allowed, that any Body, of what Condition soever, should propose to the People any Law, that had not been before approved by the Senate. Lastly, That in Elections Votes should no longer be taken but by Classes, which were a Sort of Rolls, in which all the Citizens were divided by Centuries, according to their Estates and Rank; but the first Class whereof, consisting of the richest, contain'd alone more Centuries than all the other Classes put together; which render'd that first Class, when all its Centuries agreed, the Arbiters of all Deliberations. SYLLA added, That it was needful to forbid the Tribunes making those continual Speeches, which were so many Trumpets of Sedition; and that to reduce within just Bounds, the exorbitant Ambition of those *Plebeian* Magistrates, it was necessary to enact a solemn Law, that should pronounce every Citizen, who had bore the Tribunate, incapable of any other Magistracy for the future.

These Proposals, coming from a Man who was at the Head of six Legions, and Master of *Rome*, soon acquired the Form of so many Laws. Nobody durst oppose him; all gave Way to his Authority; and *Rome*, under his Consulship, assumed as it were a new Face. After he had established his Authority on a solid Foundation, he gave his Mind to the revenging his private Injuries. We have before said, that *MARIUS*, with the Agreement

Marius
and his
Friends
impeach'd.
Ap. Alex.
l. 1. de
Bello Civ.

Murmur-
ings
against
Sylla.

ment of *Sulpitius* the Tribune, had caus'd the Command of the Army against *MITHRIDATES* to be conferr'd on him. *SYLLA* got that Decree repeal'd, and at the same Time that Law revok'd, which *Sulpitius* had publish'd, and by which he had admitted the Confederates into the five and thirty old Tribes. All that had happen'd then was ascribed to Compulsion and Violence, whilst he, that complain'd of it, was in a manner holding a Dagger at the Throat of his Fellow-Citizens. Next to this, Articles of Impeachment were drawn up against *C. MARIUS*, young *MARIUS*, his Son, twelve Senators, the chief of their Party, and the Tribune *Sulpitius*, for having been the Authors of the last Insurrection. They were absent, and their Accuser was the Man who then commanded in *Rome* with an absolute Authority; so that the Process against 'em was soon ended. They were declared Enemies of the *Roamn* State: Rewards were set upon their Heads: They were interdicted Water and Fire, which comprehends in that *Roman* Judiciary Stile, all Manner of Subsistence and Assistance from any Body; and the Decree of the Senate was proclaimed in *Rome*, and in all the Provinces of the *Roman* State, by Sound of Trumpet, ordaining they should every where be prosecuted at the public Charge, and be put to Death, as soon as ever they could be found. *SYLLA* did at the same Time detach some Troops on all Sides to hunt them down. *MARIUS* however escaped their Diligence; but the Tribune *Sulpitius* was found by some of *SYLLA*'s Horse in the Moors and Marshes of *Laurentum*. His Head being cut off, was carried to *Rome*, and nail'd to the *Rostrum*. That terrible Sight was an Omen of all the Blood that the Ambition and Hatred of *MARIUS* and *SYLLA* did afterwards spill in *Rome*, and the whole *Roman* State.

The People could not behold the Head of one of their Magistrates, nailed on his own Tribunal, without

without a secret Indignation. And even the Senate murmur'd at the Proscription of C. MARIUS, and the other Senators of his Party, although they were very well pleas'd to see the *Plebeians* humbled. Most of the Senators, jealous of the Honour and Dignity of their Body, cou'd not bear that their Colleagues should be proscrib'd in the same ignominious Manner as is usual against Thieves and Vagabonds. Some privately reproach'd SYLLA, that he sought the Death of a Man more generous than himself; and that if *Marius* had deliver'd him up to those that pursued him, when he took Refuge in his House, he had, by his Death, been himself Master of the Administration. Such Discourses afterwards repeated by many, in different Companies, alienated the Minds of all from the Person of SYLLA. He experienc'd it at the Election of certain Magistrates, where *Nonnius*, his Nephew, and *Servius*, lost their Election, for no other Reason, than that the People knew them to be Creatures of SYLLA. He, instead of showing himself angry thereat, affected to make himself a Merit of it. He told his Friends that the little Respect which the People had shown for his Recommendation, was a certain Proof that *Rome* enjoy'd a perfect Liberty under his Consulate; and to maintain the same Character still, he suffer'd that *Cinna*, of his own Family indeed, but of a contrary Party, should be elected Consul the Year following; who soon gave him Cause to repent that feign'd Moderation, as much contrary to his Humour, as it was to his Interest.

Year of
Rome,
666.
Cinna
Consul.

Cornelius Cinna, though of a *Patrician* Family, *Cinna's* had devoted himself to the *Plebeian* Party, where *Charac-* he hoped to be taken more Notice of than among *ter.* the Nobility, who abounded in great Generals and able Magistrates. He was a Man without Thought, of depraved Manners, and precipitate in his Undertakings; yet, as daring and inconsiderate

considerate as he was in his Engagements, he maintained them with a Courage and greatness of Soul worthy of a better Citizen. He was no sooner entered into his Function, but he boasted insolently he would get all the Laws made by *Sylla* repealed. He even obliquely attacked him himself; and to try his Credit, and the Disposition of the People, he made *Virginus*, one of his Creatures, take upon him to impeach *Sylla*. But that great Man, slighting equally the Meanness of the Accuser, and the Levity of him that set him to work, without vouchsafing so much as to give an Answer to what was alledged against him, left both his Judges and the Cause, and set out from *Rome* for his Army, to make War against *MITHRIDATES*.

*Cinna's
Contrivances
against
Sylla.*

He flatter'd himself, that his Party would always be powerful enough to keep the new Consul in awe, he being a Man of no great Esteem, and hated besides for his haughty and violent Humour. But Time convinced him, that, in Domestic Strifes and Civil-wars, one ought neither to rely too much on his best Friends, nor slight the least Enemy. *CINNA* himself indeed had not Credit sufficient to make a new Change in the Government; but he had Friends; Men of greater Capacity than himself, who made him sensible, that, in order to maintain himself against *Sylla*, he ought to recall *Marius*, and oppose that great General, so famous by his Victories, to *Sylla*. To effect this, it was necessary to get the Decree of his Proscription reversed. But the cancelling of so solemn a Judgment seem'd almost impossible, because of the strong Party that *SYLLA* had left in *Rome*. *CINNA*, to counterpoize their Interest, and to make sure of the greatest Number of Votes, undertook to gain the Confederates to his Side.

We have said above, how artfully the Senate had, as it were, banish'd them into the eight lowest

lowest Tribes, that their Votes might never be of any Weight: We have seen likewise, how *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, with a contrary View, had incorporated them into the five and thirty old Tribes; but that *Sylla* had again put Things upon the former foot: *CINNA* resolved to revive the Law in favour of them. To succeed therein, he sent them Word underhand that they should come to *Rome*, in as great Numbers as ever they could, and with Swords under their Gowns, on the first Day that the People should meet. All this was executed as he desir'd; and, at the Day of Meeting, the *Forum* was crowded with such a prodigious Number of those Confederates, that it was even difficult for the Inhabitants of *Rome* to come near it. *CINNA* got up himself into the *Rostrum*, and, in a studied Speech, represented to the Assembly, that the *Latins* and *Italians*, being the same Nation with the *Romans*, speaking the same Language, living under Laws very near alike, and exposing daily their Lives to maintain the Glory and Interests of the Common-wealth; it was but just to form but one Body and one State, of all the different Nations in *Italy*. That to render that Union compleat, the eight youngest Tribes ought to be suppress'd, and the new Citizens placed in the old Tribes, as Chance should determine it. That it Vell. Pa-
terc. l. 2.
c. 20. was the only Way to maintain Peace and Union in the different Orders of the State, to increase their Strength, and make them dreaded by all the Enemies of the *Roman* Name.

This Speech of the Consul was received with Ap. Alex.
l. 2. c. 15. great Applauses by the Confederates. They loudly, and with great Cries, demanded a Poll about the passing that Law. But the ancient Contest be-
tween the
Consuls. Citizens, incens'd to see a *Patrician*, and a Consul too, act the Part of a seditious Tribune of the People, did openly oppose the passing of the Law. "It ought to suffice," said they, "those Stran-
gers

“gers to be Associates of the *Roman* Name, to
 “partake of its Rights and Privileges, and to see
 “themselves now, from Subjects, as they were
 “formerly, become Citizens of *Rome*, without
 “pretending to thrust themselves violently into our
 “own Tribes, to out-vote us by their Numbers.”

This Contrariety of Opinions, and of Parties, occasioned Disputes, which soon grew up into Invectives and Feuds; when the Confederates, drawing their Swords, which they had hid under their Gowns, fell on the ancient Citizens, and forced them to fly and quit the *Forum*. Most ran to the Senate to complain, and address'd themselves to *Octavius*, *Cinna's* Colleague in the Consulate, a Friend to *Sylla*, and openly of his Party. This Consul, who had foreseen the Designs of his Colleague, under Pretence of maintaining Peace in the City, had always a considerable Number of his Party armed near him. He no sooner heard what had happened in the *Forum*, but he ran thither at the Head of *Sylla's* Party. He marched through the People, who opened him a Passage, as much out of Respect for his Dignity, as Fear of the great Number of armed People that followed him. *Octavius*, without regarding any Body, falls upon the *Latins*, drives them before him, dissipates and puts the Multitude to Flight. The Inhabitants of *Rome* take up Arms, attack the Confederates dispers'd in several Streets, pursue them close Sword in Hand, and at last oblige them to leave the City.

*Cinna
flies.*

CINNA, seeing himself abandoned by them, runs all over the Town to rally those of his Party; and he invites the very Slaves to join him, promising Liberty to as many as should take Arms in his Behalf. The first Magistrate of the Commonwealth, whose chief Office was to maintain Peace, omits nothing to stir up a Sedition. But Nobody was moved by his Threats or Promises.
 After

After having made impotent and useleſs Efforts, he was obliged to give Way to the oppoſite Party. He quitted *Rome*, and went to join that Crowd of *Italians* which came there upon his Invitation. He went ſucceſſively to all their Towns in great Haſte; to *Tibur*, *Præneſte*, *Nola*, and every where animated them to take up Arms, and revenge themſelves on the *Romans*. He was ſeconded by *C. Melonius*, *C. Marius Gratidianus*, but chiefly by *Quintus Sertorius*, an excellent General, who had joined that Party to be revenged of *Sylla*, for having made him loſe his Election, when he ſtood for the Tribuſneſhip. Theſe Senators, by their Intrigues, ſtirred up the Reſentment of the Confederates. The War was reſolved upon in moſt Towns; the Flame ſoon became general; and *Cinna*, at the Head of this new Party, began to raiſe Men and Money. The Senate informed of *Cinna* his evil Deſigns, paſſed Sentence upon him. He was declared fallen from his Right of a Citizen; ^{declared} an Enemy. ^{Year of} deprived of his Dignity of Conſul; and, in his ^{Rome,} Room, they elected *Lucius Merula*, a Prieſt of 666. *Jupiter*, and one of the beſt Men in the Commonwealth.

Cinna's Fury increaſed upon the hearing of this Sentence. His Spirit, naturally proud and fiery, conceived none but deſtructive Projects againſt his Enemies. But as he had Occaſion for an Army to maintain himſelf, he reſolved to gain a Body of *Roman* Forces, then encamped near *Capua*, to his Party.

He haſtned to that Camp, and, before they had ^{War with} heard of his Depoſal, he directed himſelf to ſome ^{Cinna.} Military Tribunes, whom he artfully gained and brought over to his Intereſt. Thoſe Officers, in Conjunction with him, called the Army together. The Soldiers were at firſt ſurprized to ſee the Conſul appear there without his Liſtors, Faſces, and other Tokens of the Conſular Dignity: When
Cinna

Cinna addressing himself to them ; “ You see,” said he, “ in my Person, a strange and unheard of Precedent of the Senate’s Tyranny. You had made me your Consul ; the People of *Rome* had conferred that Dignity on me by their Votes ; and the Senate deprives me of it, without hearing what I can say for myself, and even without having consulted the People. After such an Attempt, What can you expect will become of your Liberties, your Rights, and your Votes ? And it is on Account of those very Votes, whose Numbers I had resolv’d to augment, to maintain your Authority, that I suffer these Injuries. Had I been less attach’d to the Interest of the People, I had still been at the Head of the Senate, and you had still seen me in your Tribunal with all the Badges of my Dignity ; whereas, I present myself now as a Suppliant, and as an unfortunate attainted Man, without Country, without House, without Domestic-Gods, forc’d to wander as Chance directs, or to hide myself in a Country where I have a Right to command.”

App.
Alex.
idem.
ibid. c. 2.

At the same Time he tears his Robe, like a Man penetrated with the utmost Grief : He calls on the Gods, Avengers of Injustice, and throws himself on the Ground, ready to run himself through with his own Sword, and as if he had resolv’d not to out live his Disgrace. The Soldiers, mov’d at this sad Spectacle, raise him up, and carry him back to the Tribunal. Every one encourages him ; they appoint him *Lictors*, and restore him the *Fasces* ; and the Army, gain’d by its Officers, acknowledge him for their Consul and General, and take an Oath of Fidelity to him.

Cinna, whom they had hitherto despis’d at *Rome*, now became formidable ; and the Desertion of that whole Army was taken for the Beginning of a Civil-war. The two Consuls, *Octavius* and

Merula by Order of the Senate, rais'd immediately new Forces. Some Troops were taken into the Service from those Confederates who had not embrac'd *Cinna's* Party; and at the same Time they recall'd *Cn. Pompeius*, Father of *POMPEY* the Great. He then commanded a Body upon the Coasts of the *Ionian* Sea, and he came to *Rome*, encamping before the *Colline* Gate, to cover the City. But the Common-wealth got but little Advantage by him, since that General carried himself so artfully betwixt both Parties in *Sylla's* Absence, that it was never known which Side he favour'd. May be, he even sought to raise himself upon the Ruin of Both; which afterwards made him equally odious to both Parties.

In the mean Time, *Cinna's* Party grew daily stronger, many Senators going to his Camp; and News was brought at the same Time, that *Caius Marius* and his Son were upon the Road thither. *Marius* That famous Leader of that Party had till then ^{joins} liv'd as an Exile in the little Island of *Circinna*, ^{Cinna.} upon the Coast of *Africa*, whither he had fled with his Son, and some *Roman* Senators, who follow'd his Fortune.

We have seen, that *Sylla* had drove him out of *Rome*; and that after his Flight, he had been proscrib'd, and a Price set upon his Head. *Caius* ^{An Ac-} *Marius*, upwards of seventy Years of Age, after ^{count of} six Consulships, which he had exercis'd with as ^{Marius's} much Authority as Glory, saw himself reduc'd to ^{first} that Extremity, as to be forc'd to fly from *Rome* on Foot, without either a Friend or a Servant to accompany him in his Flight. After having walk'd some Way in this deplorable Condition, he was forc'd, to avoid *Sylla's* People that pursu'd him, to throw himself into a Morass, where he lay the whole Night sunk and buried in the Mud up to his Neck. He got out of it in the Morning at Break of Day, endeavouring to gain the Sea-shore, in

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Hopes to meet with some Vessel that should help him to get to *Italy*. But being known by some People of *Minturnæ*, he was stopp'd: He was carried into that Town with a Rope about his Neck, all naked and muddy. The Magistrate, in Obedience to the Decree of the Senate, sent to him immediately a public Slave, a *Cimbrian* by Birth, to put him to Death.

Plut. in
Mario.

MARIUS seeing that Slave enter his Prison, and judging of his Errand by a naked Sword, which he held in his Hand, said to him with a strong Voice: *Thou Barbarian, Can'st thou have the Assurance to assassinate CAIUS MARIUS?* The Slave, frighted at the Sound of a Name so terrible to his Countrymen, throws down his Sword, and flies out of the Prison in a very great Disorder, and crying out, *It was not in his Power to kill MARIUS.* The Magistrates of *Minturnæ* look'd upon the Disorder and Fright of that Slave as an Act of Heaven, and watch'd for the Preservation of that great Man; and mov'd with pious Sentiments, they set him free again: "Let him go," said they, "wondering where his Stars will guide him, and let him undergo the Sentence of the Senate any where else but here. We only supplicate the Gods to forgive us, if a superior Authority forces us to drive out of the Town that Man, who formerly sav'd all *Italy* from the Incurfion of Barbarians." Those of *Minturnæ* did even supply him with a Vessel, which at first carried him into the Island of *Ænaria*, where he met with a Senator of his own Party, call'd *Granius*, and some more of his proscrib'd Friends, who acquainted him, that his Son had taken Refuge in the Court of *Mandrestal*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Hiempsal*, King of *Numidia*; which determin'd MARIUS to pass into *Africa*. The stormy Weather, or, as some say, want of Water, oblig'd him to put in and go on Shore upon the Coast of *Sicily*; and there he met with

with new Dangers. Scarce had he set his Foot upon the Shore, when a *Roman* Quæstor, who had the chief Command in that Country, and who by mere Chance was upon the very Spot at that Time, offer'd to seize him. They came to Blows, and MARIUS did not escape this Danger, but with the Loss of sixteen of his Men, who made a Stand just upon the Shore, whilst others help'd him to go on Board. After some Days Sail he arriv'd in *Africa*, and landed near *Carthage*. *Sextilius* commanded in that Province as Prætor; and as MARIUS had never disoblig'd him, he flatter'd himself that he would not enquire after him, nor disturb him in his Retirement; but that he should find a Refuge where he might recover himself of the great Fatigues of the Sea. But scarce had he been there a few Days, when he saw a Lictor coming, who signifi'd to him the Order he brought from the Prætor, that he should depart his Government; threatening to prosecute him as an Enemy of the *Roman* State, if he abode there any longer. MARIUS, pierc'd with Grief, and fill'd with Resentment that he could not find one little Corner of the Earth where he might be safe, after having seen himself in a Manner Master of the whole World, was looking on the Lictor with Disdain, and in a deep Silence, when being press'd to return him Answer: *Go and tell your Master*, said he, *that you have seen CAIUS MARIUS banish'd his Native Country, sitting upon the Ruins of Carthage*; as if by the Comparison of his own Misfortunes with the Fall of the mighty Empire of *Carthage*, he design'd to remind the Prætor of the Uncertainty of the greatest Fortunes. He went afterwards on Board, notwithstanding the Badness of the Weather, and Rigour of the Season; and he spent Part of the Winter in his Ship, wandering in those Seas, waiting for the Return of one of his Servants, whom he had sent to his Son in *Numidia*, that he might get Leave for him to retire likewise

into the Dominions of *Mandrestal*. But he was much surpriz'd when he saw him arrive himself, and heard thad he had luckily escaped from an Asylum, which was become a Prison to him. That barbarous Prince had at first received him with all the Marks of Respect which all Kings used to show the *Romans*, and which were due above all to the great Name of *Marius*, so famous all over *Numidia*. But having understood how Matters went, he had resolv'd to retain the Son as an Hostage, which Fortune had sent him, and to make himself a Merit of it with the Party that should prevail. And though to all outward Appearance, he still used him with the same Respect and good Manners; young *Marius* soon perceiv'd that he was a Prisoner, and that *Mandrestal* caus'd him to be accompanied every where by a Great Number of *Numidian* Nobles, who never lost Sight of him, not so much to do him Honour, as to be a Guard upon him. Luckily the young *Roman* had found the Way to the Heart of one of the King's Wives. Love, in the Shape of Compassion, made that Princess as it were a Sharer in his Misfortunes; and notwithstanding her secret Passion, she was generous enough to procure him the Means of escaping. He came to his Father, as we have said; and *Marius*, inform'd what was doing at *Rome* by a Messenger from *Cinna*, resolv'd to hasten to his Army, to endeavour to raise his Party again.

Plut. in
Mario.

App.
Alex.
l. 2. c. 16.

He took Shipping again, and after some Days sailing he landed on the Coast of *Hetruria*, whence he sent to offer his Services to *Cinna*, in the like Manner as a private Citizen would have done to his Consul. *Cinna* hearing this great News, imparted it immediately to *Quintus Sertorius*, one of his Lieutenants, and ask'd his Advice. *Sertorius*, who was a great Commander, but wise and moderate, and who dreaded the rough and revengeful Temper of *Marius*, was not of Opinion that he should

should be received in the Army. He remonstrated Plut. in to *Cinna*, that he was powerful enough to triumph Sert. alone over his Enemies; that no sooner should *Marius* be at the Head of the Army, but all the Authority would of course devolve upon Him; that he would rob him of the Honour of all the glorious Successes; and besides, that he was a Man in whom it was not always safe to confide. *Cinna* own'd all this to be very just and solid: "But," says he, "which Way can I send back a Man whom I have myself invited to come to my Army, and to join his Resentments with ours against our common Enemies?" "Since it is You" (replied Sertorius) that have call'd him in, there "was no need of this Consultation; and nothing more is left for you to do, after you have join'd with him. but to watch his Conduct as narrowly, as you do the Designs and Undertakings of your declar'd Enemies."

CINNA, after this secret Conference, wrote to *Marius* in *Marius*, inviting him anew to come to his Army: Cinna's He stiled him Pro-consul in his Letter, and he sent him Licitors, and all the other Ornaments of a Pro-consul. *Marius* came to *CINNA*'s Camp; but he sent back the Licitors, and all other Marks of the pro-consular Dignity, as not agreeing with his present Circumstances. He affected, on the contrary, to wear nothing but an old Gown; his Hair and Beard rough; he walk'd slow, and like a Man quite oppress'd with his Misfortunes. But through the Disguise of that doleful Countenance, something so fierce was discern'd in his Visage, that he rather created Terror, than moved Compassion.

It was no sooner known at *Rome*, that *Marius* was return'd to *Italy*, with a Design to make War therein, but more than five hundred Citizens went out to meet and join him. He then travell'd Advantages of through all *Italy*, visited every Town, and pro- Marius's claim'd, that he took up Arms with no other View, Party. than

than to get their Citizens receiv'd into the ancient Tribes, and into the Body of the Common-wealth. The People, allur'd with this Expectation, gave him Money and Troops. A great Number of *Roman* Soldiers, who had formerly serv'd under him, came and offer'd him their Service. To increase his Army still more, he proclaim'd by Sound of Trumpet, that he would make all such Slaves Freemen, as should come under his Banner. A great Number came in thereupon, to whom he caus'd Arms to be distributed; and he chose the most likely among them to make up his Guards.

CINNA and MARIUS, thinking themselves strong enough to besiege *Rome*, march'd up to it without the least Obstacle. *Cinna*, and *Carbo*, one of his Lieutenants, encamp'd on the Banks of the *Tyber*; *Sertorius* above it, and *Marius* near the Seaside. Their Design was to prevent the City from being supply'd with Provisions. *Cn. Pompeius* indeed, had a considerable Body of Forces, which might have made the City easy on that Account; but the Conduct of that General was so equivocal, his Measures so much studied, and his Designs so dark, that there was no depending on his Assistance. He was a little while after kill'd by a Flash of Lightning; and it was observed, that they were as well pleas'd at his Death in the City, as in the Enemy's Camp. The Consul *Octavius* was oblig'd to take his Place. Nobody doubted of his Integrity, nor his good Intentions; but he was an unexperienc'd Soldier, and succeeded a great Commander. He was even rather a good Citizen, than a Man fit to Govern; scrupulously attach'd to a fearful Observation of the Laws; and a Stranger to that Maxim, that, when the Welfare of a Country is at Stake, its Governors ought to place themselves even above the Laws. He was blamed for refusing the Help that the numberless Slaves in *Rome* proffered him: He said coldly to his

Cn. Pompeius
kill'd with
Lightning.

his Officers who pressed him to arm them for the Defence of the City, that he would never grant the Prerogative of Citizens to Slaves, when he had given his Advice for taking it from CAIUS MARIUS; and that it would be a Violation of Plut. in those very Laws, for the Defence of which he had taken up Arms. Mario.

CINNA and MARIUS, in the mean Time, streightned Rome very much, and the very Army of *Octavius* was in a Manner besieged. It was impossible to recall SYLLA, now at too great a Distance, and having his Hands full in the remotest Parts of *Asia*, against *Mithridates*. So that the Senate could have Recourse only to a Body of Forces commanded by *Cecilius Metellus*, Son of him who had been stiled *Numidicus*, who was then making War upon the *Samnites*, a courageous People, always Enemies of the *Roman* Name, and who obstinately sustained the Remains of the Confederate War, which we mentioned before.

The Senate, knowing the Ability and Courage of that General, sent him Orders to terminate that War upon as honourable Conditions as possible; to march his Army immediately back to relieve his Country; and, if he could not clap up a Peace, even to leave his Troops under the Command of his Lieutenants, and to come himself to assist the Consul in his Camp. *Metellus* hereupon App. sends to the Generals of the Enemies to make Pro- Alex. l. 1. posals; but as in the Treaty he always would pre- c. 16. serve the Dignity of the *Roman* Name, *Marius* arrived whilst the Negotiation was carrying on slowly, and offer'd the *Samnites* such advantageous Conditions, that they declar'd in his Favour; so that *Metellus*, despairing of concluding that Peace, left his Forces to his Lieutenants, and went himself Plut. in Mario. to *Octavius's* Camp.

The Soldiers of that Consul, who despised Him Metellus's as much as they valued *Metellus*, demanded the wrong latter Policy.

latter loudly for their General; and openly declared, that as soon as they should have so brave a Man at their Head, they should not fear repulsing all the Efforts of their Enemies, and saving *Rome* and the Common-wealth. But *Metellus*, as modest as he was brave, refused those seditious Applauses with Indignation; he upbraided the Soldiers with want of Discipline; and this he did with so much Severity, that most being provoked at his Usage, went over to *Marius*. Which shews, that, in a Civil-war, the Heads of Parties can never too tenderly manage Soldiers whom their own Example makes mutinous, and who don't think they are fighting against their Country, so long as they obey Generals, and list into Troops, of their own Nation.

*Disorder
in Rome.*

Marius, to make the Disorder in *Rome* still greater, proclaimed near the Walls of that City, that he would set all those Slaves free, who should come to serve in his Army; which every Day drew a great Number of them thither. The common People, on the other Hand, who will have Bread, come whence it will, did loudly complain, that the Senate, for their own private Interest, kept up a War, which endanger'd their Wives and Children to starve. Even the greatest Number of those Senators, who at first appeared the most zealous, did now preserve but a cold, tho' seeming Respect for the Party. And as it is rare to meet with much Faith in a Civil-war, because of the two mutual Ties between the two Parties, nothing else was seen but Deserters and secret Negotiators going to and fro between the City and the Camp, to make their private Agreements.

*App. id.
ibid.
Deputies
sent to
Cinna.*

The Senate seeing its Party and Authority daily declining, and fearing a general Insurrection, thought it Time to come to a Parley. Deputies were sent to *Cinna* to make him some Overtures of Peace. *Cinna*, before he would hear them, sent

to

to ask, Whether they had Orders to acknowledge him for one of the Consuls of the Common-wealth; or whether they designed to treat with him upon the Foot of a private Person? The Deputies, having no Instructions touching so nice a Point, returned to the City for fresh Orders. The Senate, puzzled at CINNA's Question, scarce knew what Course to take. It seemed unfeasible to depose so honest a Man as *Merula*, who had been raised to that Dignity without so much as putting up for it. On the other Hand, the People, pressed by Hunger, called loudly for Bread; and, it was to be feared, would let the Enemy into the City. *Merula's* Generosity helped the Senate out; *of lays down* himself he laid down the Consulship; and, by his *the Consulship* Demission, the Senate, being free of their last Obligation, sent new Deputies to CINNA, as to a Consul of the *Roman* State. CINNA received *Cinna is* them in his Tribunal, with all the Tokens of the *recognized* first Magistrate of the Common-wealth. The De- *Consul* puties invited him, in the Name of the Senate, to enter *Rome*, and into the Functions of his Dignity; and stipulated no other Condition with him, than that he would be pleased to spare the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens, and to take an Oath, that he would put none of them to Death, but according to Law, and conformably to the usual Course of Justice. CINNA refused to take that Oath; but he protested that he would never give his Consent to the Death of any Citizen. He even sent Word to the Consul *Q. Flavius*, that he would not do amiss to retire somewhat from *Rome*, till all was settled peaceably. MARIUS was standing next to CINNA's Tribunal; he did not speak to the Deputies; but, his Silence, a fierce Look, and his Eyes sparkling with Rage, told them sufficiently, that that Man, always furious in his Revenge, breathed nothing but Blood and Slaughter.

Metellus,

Metellus, seeing the Affairs of *Rome* desperate, would not enter the Town. He rather chose to banish himself from his Country, than to own *CINNA*'s Authority; and he retired into *Liguria* towards the Sea-side. *Octavius*, on the contrary, protested, that since he was Consul, he would not quit the City: He placed himself in his Consular Habit on his Tribunal, surrounded with his Lictors; and there he resolved to expect whatever Fate the Enemies should assign him.

*Cinna and
Marius
re-enter
Rome.*

CINNA and *MARIUS* advanced to the Gates of *Rome*, at the Head of their Forces. *CINNA* entered first, accompanied with his Guards; but *MARIUS* halted at the Gate; and, when his Friends intreated him to enter, he told them, That since he had been banished by a public Decree, it was necessary he should be recalled by a like One. That cruel and savage Man still made a Shew of bearing Respect to the Laws. They were obliged, in Compliance with him, to call the People together in the *Forum*; but, scarce had two or three of the oldest Tribes given their Votes, when he, impatient to satisfy his cruel Temper, and thinking the Ceremony too long, threw off the Mask, and fell upon the City with a Band of his Guards, murdering such as he had named to them, wherever they found them. *Caius*, and *Lucius Julius Serranus*, *P. Lentulus*, *C. Numiterius*, *M. Bebius Crassus*, all Senators of great Note, were murdered in the Streets, and the first that were sacrificed to *MARIUS*'s Resentment. He caused their Heads to be carried and laid upon the *Rostrum*. And, as if he designed to pursue his Revenge even beyond Death, he ordered that their mangled Bodies should be left in the Streets to be devoured by Dogs.

*Marius's
Cruelty.*

*Proscrip-
tion of
Cinna and
Marius.*

Of the two Consuls, *Octavius* was killed on his Tribunal, contrary to *Cinna*'s Promise; and, *Merula* knowing he was proscribed, had his Veins opened himself, to rob his Enemy of the cruel Pleasure of determining

determining the Kind of his Death. But, as he was a Priest of *Jupiter*, and that, by the Laws of Religion, it was not lawful for Persons of that Character to die with the Mitre on their Heads; they found, after his Decease, a Writing, expressing, that before he died, he had had the Precaution to lay down that sacred Ornament, that he might not (said he) profane it with his Blood. *Marcus Antonius*, whose sheltering Place had been discovered by *MARIUS's* Guards, was murdered next. He was a noted Senator, of a *Plebeian* Family, and who pretended to derive his Origin from one *Antho*, Son of *Hercules*; but his Family was become more illustrious from this Senator, who had been Consul and Censor, and was reputed the best Orator of his Time. *Quintus Catulus*, another Consular, and famous for his Victory over the *Cimbri*, in which he shared with that Tyrant *MARIUS*, having understood that he was proscribed, shut himself up in a Room, and there stifled himself with the Vapour of Charcoal, which he had ordered to be kindled there. *Rome* saw every Day some of her worthiest Citizens perish, whom *MARIUS's* *Rufians* murdered without any Mercy. That furious Band of Slaves, whom he had made the Instruments of his Vengeance, did nothing else but murder the Heads of Families, plunder their Houses, ravish the Women, and carry off Children. At *MARIUS's* least Nod, they stabbed such as came before him: They had even Orders to kill all those on the Spot, to whom he did not return their Salute; so that his very Officers and Friends never came near him but in Fear, and uncertain of their Fate.

Amidst so much Bloodshed, *MARIUS* used to *Marius's* complain that the chief Victim had escaped him, *Rage a-* and that his Vengeance was imperfect, since he *gainst* could not extend it to *SYLLA* himself: But that *Sylla.* General was both too distant and too powerful to have
any

The Senate's Weakness.

Year of Rome, 667.

Sylla's prudent Conduct. Plut. in Sylla.

any Thing to fear from the Cruelty of his Enemy. The Tyrant, to give Vent to his Rage, endeavoured to hurt him in what he knew the most sensible to him. He caused his Wife, *Metella*, to be strictly enquired after, who was a Daughter of *Metellus Numidicus*, as likewise his Children, to put them to Death. It was by a mere lucky Accident they escaped the Fury of that Monster. The principal Friends of *Sylla* got them out of *Rome*, and conducted them as far as his Camp. *Marius*, enraged at their Flight, extended his Vengeance upon the most insensible and inanimate Things. He caused his Enemy's House to be razed, and his Goods to be confiscated; and, whilst *Sylla* was adding large Provinces and whole Kingdoms to the *Roman State*, *Marius* was not ashamed of getting him declared an Enemy to the Commonwealth. The Senate, who knew how to call any thing Law, and adapt their Decrees to the Pleasure of the prevailing Party, made no Difficulty to declare him guilty. They revoked all the Laws which they had passed during his Consulship; ready to do the same with *Marius's* Decrees, if the opposite Party got uppermost. *Cinna* and *Marius* procured themselves, at the same Time, to be chosen Consuls for the Year ensuing; thereby to strengthen themselves with the Authority of that Sovereign Magistracy, against the Resentment and the Armies of *Sylla*, whose Return into *Italy* they much dreaded. And, indeed, his Wife, Children, Friends, and all those that were proscribed, and had fled to his Camp, solicited, and intreated him daily, to turn his Arms against his own proper Enemies, and to free his Country of those Tyrants, who so long had oppressed it. But *Sylla*, superior to his private Resentments, thought it more honourable to fight the Enemies of the State, than to ruin the Affairs of the Commonwealth, on purpose to indulge a precipitate and private Revenge;

and he resolved to make an End of his foreign Enemy before he turned to his domestic Foes. *He writes*
 In the mean Time, he wrote a long Letter to the ^{to the Se-}Senate; wherein, with a lively Style, he recited ^{nate.}
 his Services, and the Injuries done him, and ended it with Complaints, mixed with Threats. “ You ^{App. l. 1,}
 “ know, Conscript Fathers,” said he, “ all the La- ^{c. 18.}
 “ bours we have undergone, in different Climates,
 “ for the Service of the Common-wealth. As
 “ Quæstor in *Numidia*, Military Tribune in the
 “ *Cimbrian* War, Pro-prætor in the Confederate
 “ War, and now as Pro-consul against *Mithridates*,
 “ I have always fought your Battles with Success.
 “ I have vanquished, in many Engagements, the
 “ Generals of that powerful Foe of the *Roman*
 “ Name. I have driven his Garrisons out of all
 “ *Greece*, and hope soon to confine him to his an-
 “ tient Bounds of the Kingdom of *Pontus*.” He
 added, That, for a Reward of his Services, the
 Senate, at the Instigation of his Enemies, had
 set a Price upon his Head; his Friends had been
 put to Death; his Wife and Children forced to
 fly from *Rome* to save their Lives; his House had
 been pulled down; his Estate confiscated; and the
 Laws abrogated which had been enacted during
 his Consulship. But, that he hoped soon to return
 to *Rome*, at the Head of a powerful and victorious
 Army; and that, then, he would have his Re-
 venge, both for his private and public Injuries.

This Letter, and the News daily arriving from *Cinna* and
Sylla’s Army, that that General designed to turn *Marius*’s
 his Arms against the two Consuls, gave them a ^{Fear.}
 great deal of Uneasiness. *Marius*, loaded with
 Years, and his Body exhausted with the Hardships
 sustained in War, feared he should be obliged to
 take the Field again; and was the more averse to
 it, when he considered that he should meet a
 powerful Enemy, a great General, always success-
 ful; still in the Vigour of his Life; who was expeditious,

ditionous, diligent, and unwearied; and who had driven him out of *Rome* once before.

Marius's
Death.

He called to Mind all his past Misfortunes, his Flight, his Banishment, the Danger he had run by Sea and Land; and dreaded being exposed to the same Hazards again in so advanced an Age. These melancholly Thoughts continually beset him, and made him incapable of Sleep. It was to procure that, and to divert those dismal Thoughts, that he abandoned himself to excessive Drinking. He endeavoured to drown his Cares in Wine, and he never found Repose, but when he had lost his Reason. This new Kind of Life, and his great Excesses, gave him a Pleuresy, of which he died, on the seventeenth Day of his seventh Consulship.

C. Piso in
Plut.

One Historian seems to intimate, that he hastened his own End; but doth not tell in what Manner. He only relates, that *Marius*, one Evening, after Supper, walking with some of his Friends, did, for a long while, discourse them upon the chief Events of his Life; and that, after he had related all that he had experienced and felt of good and bad Fortune, he added, that he thought it unwise, in a Man of his Years, to trust any longer to so inconstant a Goddess. That, having ended that Discourse, he embraced all about him with a Tenderness very uncommon to him; that he went thereupon to Bed, where he died a few Days afterwards.

The End of the Tenth Book.

BOOK

B O O K XI.

After the Death of Marius, C. Marius, his Son, unites firmly with Cinna and Valerius Flaccus. This last having been declared Consul, crosses over into Asia, with an Army, against Mithridates, pretending that the War which Sylla made upon him, was without the Approbation of the Senate. Fimbria, Lieutenant to Valerius Flaccus, kills his General. Sylla makes Peace with Mithridates, and marches against Fimbria; who, abandoned by his Soldiers, runs himself through with his Sword. Sylla returns into Italy, where he finds an Army much superior to his own, and commanded by experienced Officers, headed by L. Corn. Scipio, and C. Junius Norbanus, the two Consuls for that Year. With Craft and Money he debauches Scipio's Army to his Party; and triumphs over that of Norbanus by his Valour. Young Marius is chosen Consul. He offers Sylla Battle, and loses it. He shuts himself up in Preneſte, where his Antagoniſt beſieges him. After the Ruin of his Party, Preneſte is, at laſt, oblig'd to ſurrender to the victorious Sylla. Marius endeavours to get off by ſubterraneous Paſſages, together with a young Samnite, who commanded the Troops of his Nation in the Town; but, having found no Iſſue out, theſe two Generals mutually kill each other. Sylla declared perpetual Dictator; rids himſelf of his Enemies by cruel Proſcriptions. He diveſts himſelf of the ſovereign Power, and dies a private Man. M. Emilius Lepidus, who, during Sylla's Life, had been attached to the Patrician Party,

Party, becomes the Head of the Plebeian, after the Death of the Dictator. Having had the Government of Gallia Cisalpina at the Expiration of his Consulship, he raises an Army there, with which he comes and encamps close by Rome, where he is defeated by Catulus. He retreats into Sardinia, and dies there. Pompey is sent to Spain, where, after some ill Successes against Sertorius, he has at last the Glory of ending that War, by causing Perpenna's Head to be cut off. An Army of Slaves, commanded by Spartacus, obtained several Victories over the Roman Legions. They are defeated by Crassus, and their General killed. The Pyrate War ended by Pompey.

*Young
Marius
succeeds his
Father.*

*Year of
Rome,
667.*

*Valerius
Flaccus
goes into
Asia.*

THE greatest Number of the Roman Citizens thought they came to Life the second Time, when they heard *Marius* was dead. But, their Joy was of a short Continuance; for they soon perceived that they had only changed their Tyrant. Young *Marius* inherited his Father's Cruelty, as well as his Power; and he celebrated his Funeral with the Death of many Senators, who had escaped the first Fury of the Proscription. This young Man entered into a close League with *Cinna*, and persuaded *Valerius Flaccus* into it, who was a Creature of *Marius*. They even got him named to succeed him in the Consular Dignity; and this new Magistrate, to gain the Favour of the Multitude, proposed a Law which declared Debtors free of their Debts, upon paying to their Creditors the fourth Part of the Principal. They afterwards consulted how they should prevent *Sylla's* Return; and, for that End, agreed to send an Army into *Asia* against *Mitbridates*, under Pretence that the War, which *Sylla* had made upon him, was disowned by the Common-wealth; and that the Authority of that General, proscribed by a Decree of the Senate, was illegal. *Cinna* made *Valerius* sensible,

sible, that it was their common Interest, that he should take the Task upon him; and he flattered him with the Hopes, that *Sylla's* Soldiers, seeing a Consul in those Parts, would soon desert to his Eagles; or, at least, that his Army would keep that of *Sylla* in some Awe, and retard their March to *Italy*, if he had the Boldness to attempt it, while he was so near him.

Valerius marched from *Rome* with two Legions. He was a Man of a tyrannical and violent Spirit, proud of his new Dignity, cruel in punishing the private Soldiers, and odious to the Officers, whom he treated with too much Scorn: He was incapable of Gratitude, because he ascribed all the Complaisance that was shown to him, to the mere Fear of his Power and Resentment. As *Cinna* was not much convinced of his Abilities, he appointed, for his Counsellor and Lieutenant, a Senator, called *Fimbria*, to assist him, being as much esteemed by *Fimbria* the Army for his Valour, as *Valerius* was hated for ^{falls out} his harsh Temper. These two Chiefs were not long ^{with Va-} together before they fell out. The Lieutenant, ^{lerius} *Flaccus*, sensible of the want of Abilities in his General, did not sufficiently respect his Dignity; and the Consul, no ways regarding the Merit of an Officer of so great Distinction as *Fimbria*, was for turning military Subordination into slavish Obedience. The Transition from this to Broils and Animosities was easy; and scarce were they arrived in *Asia*, but their Misunderstanding broke out, and showed itself on occasion of some Quarters which the Quæstor of the Army and *Fimbria* contended for. The Con- App. sul joyfully laid hold of this Opportunity to mor- Alex. de tify his Lieutenant, and gave it for the Quæstor. Bello con- *Fimbria*, enraged at this Preference, threatened tra My- him publicly to quit the Service. *Valerius*, to thrid. c 5. shew him that he could do without him, gave his Post that Instant to another. This second Affront made *Fimbria* quite mad. The Soldiers, who

loved him, repented the Injury that was done him; the whole Army rose up in a tumultuous Manner. *Valerius*, instead of using his Authority, and by his Presence endeavouring to bring them to their Duty, fled in a cowardly Manner; and that General, deserting his own Army, threw himself into a neighbouring Town, and hid himself at the Bottom of a Well. *Fimbria*, hurried away by his Passion, pursues him, enters the Town, discovers the Place where he had hid himself, gets him out of the Well, and with his own Hands kills his Consul and General. To fortify himself against *Cinna's* Resentment, he caused the whole Army to take an Oath to him, knowing that he should at any Time get himself declared guiltless, as long as he should be at the Head of his Legions; and that the bare Apprehension of his going over to *Sylla's* Party, would make them connive at his Crime.

The Consul
Valerius
Flaccus
killed by
Fimbria.

Fimbria's
Advances
over
Mithridates.
Idem
Ap. ibid.
Vol. 1. 2,
c. 24.
Mithridates be-
sieged in
Piæne.

As he was a Man of Courage, and a great General, he obtained considerable Advantages over *Mitbridates* and his Lieutenants. He followed close upon that Prince himself; whom, after a Defeat, he forced to abandon *Pergamus*, a City of *Troas*, and to retreat to *Pitane*, a strong Place, where he could receive Supplies by Sea. *Fimbria*, nevertheless, besieged him there; but, having no Fleet to shut up the Harbour, he wrote to *Lucullus*, who commanded that of *Sylla*, to sail up to it, and to contribute, notwithstanding the Difference of Parties, to the taking of the greatest Enemy of the Roman State. *Mitbridates* had been infallibly undone, if this Lieutenant of *Sylla* would have acted in Conjunction with *Fimbria*. But, for all the Honour he would have gained by the taking of so great a Monarch, *Lucullus* did not think fit to undertake any Thing without the Knowledge and Order of his General. Perhaps, too, he made a Scruple to have the least Correspondence with a Man who had so lately murdered his Consul. So that

that *Mithridates* not being obstructed on the Seaside, got out of the Place, and continued the War with various Success against *Fimbria* and *Sylla* too, though he had already entered upon a Sort of a Treaty of Peace with the latter.

Sylla had, in less than three Years, re-taken all the Towns of *Greece*; defeated *Taxiles*, *Archelaus*, and *Dorilas*, Generals of *Mithridates*, who commanded, in *Bæotia*, an Army of above a hundred thousand Men, in two general Battles, near *Cheronea* and *Orchomene*. And he vanquished those formidable Armies with no more than fifteen thousand Men, and at a Time when he could hope for no Supplies from *Rome*, where *MARIUS*'s Party reigned. But, as a prosperous War never fails of supplying the Victor with Necessaries, his Victories had brought into his Camp Plenty of every Thing that was good and valuable. His Army increased; Men came from all Parts to fight under his Banners, and *Asia* was an inexhaustible Treasury to him. *Sylla*, with those Supplies, and at the Head of a victorious Army, might have carried his Conquests a great Way, if his Uneasiness about the Transactions at *Rome*, and the Desire of raising his Party again, had not outweigh'd in his Mind the Advantages which he might reasonably promise himself from the Continuation of this War. He had firmly resolved, however, not to quit *Asia*, before he had forced his Enemy, either by Arms or a Treaty, into the ancient Bounds of his Dominions. Whilst he was thus deliberating with himself, *Mithridates*, who, on his Side was not less violently disturbed in Mind, and who feared that so great a General, and so fortunate in all his undertakings, should drive him quite out of *Asia*, sent private Orders to *Archelaus*, one of his Generals, to endeavour to clap up a Peace upon any Terms.

Negotia-
tion be-
tween
Archelaus
and Sylla.
Plut. in
Sylla.

Archelaus made some Overtures hereof to *Sylla*, by Means of a Merchant, who, on Account of Trade, had free Access to both the Camps. A Negotiation was set on Foot insensibly, and the two Generals, after some Preliminaries settled, met in a Place they had agreed upon. *Archelaus*, not ignorant how much it imported *Sylla* to be at Liberty to go for *Italy*, proposed to him to unite his Interests with those of *Mitbridates*; and that his Master would supply him with Money, Troops, and Shipping, to make War upon *Cinna* and *Marius*.

Sylla, without seeming to resent such Proposals, did, on his Side, advise him to withdraw himself from the Slavery he lived in, under an imperious and cruel Prince. He proposed he should take upon himself the Title of King in his Government, and offered to procure him the Name and Advantages of an Ally, and a Friend of the *Romans*, if he would deliver into his Hand *Mitbridates's* Fleet, which he commanded. *Archelaus* rejected this Proposal with Scorn, and gave the *Roman* General to understand, that he took it very ill of him to think him capable of such a treacherous Action. When *Sylla* taking upon him that Air of Greatness and Dignity, so natural to the *Romans*; "If being but a Slave, (said he) or at most but an Officer of a *Barbarian* King, you think it a base Action, to quit the Service of your Master, how durst you be so bold as to propose the relinquishing the Interest of the Common-wealth to such a *Roman* as *Sylla*? Do you take Things to be upon the Level betwixt us? Have you forgot my Victories? Have you forgot, that you are the same *Archelaus*, whom I have defeated in two Battles; and whom, after the last, I forced to go hide himself in the Morassies of *Orchomene*?"

Archelaus, confounded with so haughty an Answer, was no longer the same during all that Negotiation.

Plut. in
Sylla.
App. in
Bello con-
tra My-
thrid, c.
16.

gotiation. Sylla got the Ascendant of him; and, like one animated by Victory, dictated the Terms ^{The Con-} of the Treaty. He told him, that if *Mitbridates* ^{ditions on} would have Peace, that Prince must quit *Asia* ^{which} *Minor* and *Paphlagonia*; restore *Bythinia* to *Nicomedes*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*; pay the *Romans* ^{Sylla grants} two thousand Talents for the Charges of ^{dates a} the War, and deliver seventy Gallies into their ^{Peace.} Hands. Upon these Conditions, Sylla obliged himself, on his Side, to get *Mitbridates* confirmed, by the Senate, in the Possession of all his other Dominions, and declared a Friend and Ally of the *Roman* People. The Treaty being concluded on these Terms, the Articles were sent to *Mitbridates*. That Prince returned them immediately back to Sylla by his Ambassadors, who told him, That the King, their Master, would willingly sign them, but that he could not part either with *Paphlagonia*, or his Gallies. Sylla answered them sternly: "You say, that *Mitbridates* will ^{Plut. in} retain *Paphlagonia*, and refuses to surrender the ^{Sylla.} Gallies to me, who have Reason to expect he should throw himself at my Feet, to thank me for not cutting off the Hand with which he has murdered so many *Roman* Citizens. But, he may, perhaps, speak in another Tone, if I can but meet with him." The Ambassadors, confounded at this Answer, said not a single Word. But *Archelaus*, taking him by the Hand, intreated him to moderate his Anger. He only desired Time of him to go to the King his Master, and assured him, that he would bring the Ratification of the Treaty with him, or kill himself in his Presence.

Archelaus, having obtained Sylla's Word for superseding Hostilities, made great Haste; and, being come before *Mithridates*, he described so lively the Strength of the Enemy, and the Dangers he exposed himself to, by continuing the War against

so great a General, that his Master, though as inveterate as ever against the *Romans*, was soon made sensible, that it was his Interest to suspend, at least for a while, the Execution of his Designs, to wait till some favourable Incident freed him of *Sylla*, and put him into a Condition to resume the War with a better Prospect of Success. With that Intent he sent *Archelaus* back again to *Sylla*, to assure him, that he was coming himself, with the Ratification of the whole Treaty; and only wished to have an Opportunity to discourse with him before he returned to *Italy*. *Mitbridates* wanted this Interview, because his Peace with *Sylla* did not free him of the War which *Fimbria* was carrying on against him; and he wanted to consult with him, in what Manner he should deal with this Adventurer, who did not acknowledge *Sylla's* Authority.

*Interview
between
Sylla and
Mithri-
dates.*

Sylla having agreed to this Interview, they met at *Dardanum*, a Town of *Troas*. *Mitbridates* approaching the *Roman* General, held out his Hand to him, as a Token of his Friendship. *Sylla*, before he made any Return to his Civility, asked him, whether he accepted of the Peace upon the same Conditions that *Archelaus* had agreed to? *Mitbridates*, astonished at the Pride and Haughtiness of the *Roman* General, after having said some Things to justify the War he had begun, declared that he ratified the Treaty in all its Parts. Hereupon *Sylla* embraced him, and presented to him *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes*, whose Restoration he had stipulated in the Treaty. He put *Fimbria* out of a Condition to give him any farther Uneasiness. They afterwards parted, having given each other some external Marks of Esteem and Friendship, Things so insincere among the Great, and chiefly between Enemies newly reconciled,

How advantageous soever this Treaty was to the Romans, and chiefly to *Sylla*, yet did his Forces murmur greatly against it. The Soldiers, who had not the same Reason as their General to return to *Italy*, complained that he did not finish overcoming an Enemy, who was no longer in a Condition to resist him. *Sylla's Soldiers murmur.*

Sylla, to justify his Conduct, made them sensible, that if he had rejected the Proposals of Peace, *Mithridates*, upon his Refusal, would not have fail'd to agree with *Fimbria*; and that if those two Enemies had join'd their Forces, they would have oblig'd him, either to abandon his Conquests, or to venture a Battle against Troops much superior in Number, and commanded by two great Generals, who might, in one single Day, have wrested from him the Fruits of all his Victories.

Sylla then marched strait against *Fimbria*, and *Sylla* marked out his Camp very near his. He then immediately sent him a Summons, to surrender up to him, as Pro-consul, the Command of an Army, which he had obtain'd by the blackest of Crimes, without the Consent either of the Senate or the Roman People. *Fimbria* sent him Word, That his Authority was equally illegal, and that every Body was acquainted with the Decrees made against him at *Rome*. Then the two Generals applied themselves to the fortifying of their Camps: But as the Soldiers of both Parties were of the same Nation, and most of the same City, instead of falling on each other when they met in foraging, they saluted one another courteously. Some came even secretly from *Fimbria's* Camp, unknown to their Officers, into that of *Sylla*, to see their Friends and Kindred. These Clandestine Visits occasioned at last *Fimbria's* Ruin. *Sylla's* Soldiers, instructed by their General, won those of *Fimbria* by underhand Presents. These Soldiers, returning, corrupted others: Many taking Advantage

of the Night, got safe out of their own Camp to that of their Enemy. The Desertion became almost general: The Traitors, fearing no longer either Shame or Punishment, carried off their Colours, and by whole Companies deserted to *Sylla*. *Fimbria* finding himself betray'd, and abandoned by the greatest Part of his Army, sent to demand an Interview with *Sylla*. But that General, invest-ed with the Pro-consular Dignity, not thinking it became him to put himself upon the Level with an Adventurer, only sent one of his Officers to him, called *Rutilius*. *Fimbria* at first complained bitterly, that *Sylla* should refuse a Conference to one of his Fellow Citizens, which he had granted to a Barbarian King: And after having said some Things to justify himself concerning the Murder of the Consul *Valerius*, he asked *Rutilius*, what Favour he might expect at *Sylla's* Hands. The Officer answered him, That *Sylla*, as Pro-consul, demanded him to depart forthwith out of a Province, of which the Government belong'd to him. He added, with a Coldness mixed with Disdain, That he should have Leave to go to the Sea-side to embark somewhere. *Fimbria*, judging from so harsh an Answer that his Death was resolved upon, answer'd him resolutely, That he knew a shorter way; and immediately returning to *Pergamus*, and entering into the Temple of *Esculapius*, he ran himself thro' with his own Sword. But the Wound not proving mortal, he ordered one of his Slaves to dispatch him; who having so done, immediately killed himself upon his Master's Body. The Remainder of his Forces lifted in *Sylla's* Army; and that General leaving the Care of raising Money to *Lucullus*, and the Command of the Troops to *Murena*, began to march his Army towards *Italy*.

Fimbria
kills him-
self.

Sylla re-
turns into
Italy.
Year of
Rome,
670.

As soon as the two Consuls, *Cinna* and *Carbo*, heard of his coming, they order'd young *Marius*, and other Heads of their Party, to raise Forces, and

and recruit the Legions; they required the Assistance of the *Samnites*, and form'd different Armies to oppose the common Enemy. CINNA was resolv'd to meet him before he enter'd *Italy*, and to carry the Seat of the War into *Dalmatia*. He immediately caus'd some Forces to be transported thither; but the rest of the Army refusing to go on Board, it occasioned a Mutiny in his Camp. During this Tumult, a Soldier who was one of Cinna the chief Ring-leaders, whom he would have put under an Arrest, run him through with his Sword, ^{kill'd by one of his Soldiers.} and killed him. *Carbo* seeing himself deprived of his Colleague, under various Pretences, prevented the Election of another Consul in *Cinna's* Room, that he might be sole Master of the Administration. He continued sole Consul till the End of that Year, when *Lucius Scipio* and *Norbanus* succeeded him.

In the mean Time, SYLLA continued his March; and, after many and long Fatigues, and different Imbarkations, he arriv'd at *Durrazzo*, others say at *Patras*, where he found the Fleet that was to transport his Forces to *Italy*: But before he let them imbarke, he call'd them altogether. After having extoll'd the Valour and good Behaviour which every Soldier and Officer had shew'd during the whole Course of the *Asiatick* War; he gave them, by some Innuendo's, to understand, that he was somewhat suspicious they would be apt to disperse as soon as they should find themselves on their Native Shore. But his Soldiers, mov'd to see him fear any Thing from them that was derogatory to the Love they bore their General, took a new Oath, promising to follow his Ensigns as long as the Civil-war should last. They even assur'd him, they would never violate the Military Discipline; and each offer'd to deposit in his Hands, all the Gold and Silver they had gain'd
in

in the War against MITHRIDATES, as a Pledge of their Faith.

Sylla lands
at Brundisium.

Brindes.

App. de
Bell. Civ.
l. i. c. 19.

SYLLA refused their Offer; he returned them Thanks, and gave them Hopes that they should be nobly rewarded. He landed soon afterwards at *Brundisium*, without meeting with any Obstacle from the Enemy. There the Army staid a-while, to recover themselves of the Fatigues of the Sea, and then began their March in Search of the Enemy.

Metellus Pius, who under the Consulate of *Orestius*, had retired into *Liguria*, during the Tyranny of old *Marius*, join'd Sylla's Army with a handsome Body of Troops, which he easily raised by means of the general Esteem he had acquired among the Soldiers. He commanded them, as a Pro-consul, according to the Use of those Days, which left that Title to all that had not been in *Rome*, from the Time of their being invested with that Dignity.

SYLLA, who bore no superior Title, received him as his Colleague, though, on Account of the Superiority of his Forces, and the Glories of his Victories, he still retained the chief Command. *Marcus Crassus*, of the *Licinian* Family, proscrib'd by *Marius* and *Cinna*, had join'd him before. As soon as Sylla enter'd *Italy*, he gave him a Commission to go into the Country of the *Marfi*, to make new Levies there. But as he could not get thither without passing through several Places, where Parts of the Enemy's Army were quarter'd, he desired a Guard thither. But that General, who was willing to accustom his Officers to bold Enterprizes, answer'd him short: *I give you for Guards, your Father, your Brother, your Kindred and Friends, who have been murder'd by our Tyrants, and whose Death I come to revenge.* *Crassus*, mov'd at this Reproach, departed immediately; got safe through several Bodies of the Enemies Forces; rais'd

Sylla's
Answer to
Crassus.
Plut. in
M. *Crasso*.

rais'd a great Number of Troops by his Credit, and that of his Friends; came back with them to SYLLA, and shared with him all the Dangers, as well as the Glory of this War. But of all the Successes, which came to him from several Parts of ^{joins} Italy, SYLLA was pleas'd with none so much as those ^{Sylla.} that *Cn. Pompeius*, afterwards Sir-nam'd the Great, brought to him. He was not yet three and twenty Years old; yet, without any public Character, did ^{Vel. Pat. l. 2. c. 18.} he raise an Army in the *Picenum*, where his Father had a great many Clients and Friends; and ^{The Mark of Ancona.} he made almost all the Towns of that District declare for *Sylla*. His Army consisted of three Legions: *Brutus*, one of the Heads of the contrary Party, oppos'd his Passage: The two Armies engag'd. *Brutus* his Horse, most, if not all, of ^{Battle between Pompey and Brutus.} them *Gauls*, charged first. *Pompey* set his Cavalry against them; and advancing himself at the Head of a Squadron, kill'd with his Javelin, the *Gaul* who commanded that foreign Body of Horse. He then fell, Sword in Hand, upon those Squadrons, terrified at the fall of their Chief. That Cavalry being pushed vigorously, was drove back upon their own Foot, who thereby were broke: *Brutus*, with all his Endeavours, could not get 'em to rally again; and *Pompey*, after having cut a Part of them down, and disperfed the rest, opened himself a Passage, and at length join'd *Sylla*, in spite of two other Bodies that endeavoured to prevent him.

That General, seeing this young *Roman* arrive at the Head of a victorious Army, alighted off his Horse, to do him the more Honour, and embraced him tenderly. All were astonish'd, that *Sylla*, the proudest among the *Romans*, should give a Youth, who had yet no Seat in the Senate, the Title of *Imperator*, an Honour usually bestowed, ^{Pompey named Imperator.} in those Days, on none but such Generals of the Common-wealth, as had obtain'd some considerable Victory. But *Sylla*, without heeding the Laws

Sylla's
Forces and
those of his
Enemies.

Tear of
Rome,
670.

Negotia-
tion
between
Sylla and
Scipio.

or Rules of Military Discipline, thought that, in the Circumstances he was then in, it was buying a Man of that Importance very cheap, since it cost him only an empty Title of Honour: And, indeed, he had never been in more want of Assistance. He had not brought back with him from *Asia* above thirty thousand Men; and his Enemies had * four hundred and fifty Ensigns of Foot in several Bodies, besides their Cavalry; the whole commanded by fifteen General Officers, at whose Head were *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Junius Norbanus*, who, as Consuls for that Year, had the chief Authority.

These Armies even encreased daily, through the Fear People were in of *Sylla's* Resentment. Nobody doubted but he would take a severe Revenge, and shed a vast deal of Blood, if he could make himself Master of *Rome*. And although there were still two Parties in the City, that of the Senate, and that of the People; a Fear of the Enemy without, and their common Interest, which is the surest Bond of Union, made them all agree against a Power they dreaded; except the Friends and Adherents of *Sylla*, who, to avoid the Cruelty of young *Marius*, sought an *Asylum* in the Camp of his Adversary.

SYLLA, as well vers'd in Intrigues and secret Negotiations, as in Military Affairs, seeing himself surrounded with so many different Armies, joined Craft to his Valour. *L. Scipio*, one of the Consuls, was incamped very near him: He sent to him, to make some Overtures; and, in order to persuade him to an Agreement, his Deputies represented artfully to him, That *Sylla* was very much grieved at the Calamities to which the Commonwealth must be exposed by a Civil-war, which ever Party prevailed; and that he only desired, in order to enable him to lay down his Arms with Honour, that his Estates, and the Title only of

200,000 Men.

the

the Dignities which had been unjustly taken from him, shall be restored to him.

Scipio, who was sincerely disposed to Peace, *A Truce.* misled by such plausible Proposals, seemed satisfied with them, and only desired Time enough to communicate them to his Colleague *Norbanus*, who commanded another Army. During that Interval, there was a Truce betwixt the two Camps. SYLLA's Soldiers, by Favour of this Truce, insinuated themselves into *Scipio's* Camp, under Pretence of visiting their Friends, and with Bribes brought over many to their Party. SYLLA had before taught his Soldiers that Trick, as we have seen above in *Fimbria's* Affair: Which made *Carbo* say of *Sylla*, That in him he had to encounter both a Fox and a Lyon; but that the Lyon gave him much less Trouble than the Fox.

SYLLA, being now sure of a great Number of *Scipio de-*
Scipio's Soldiers, presented himself before his Camp, *serted by*
at the Head of twenty Cohorts. The Soldiers up- *his Army.*
on Guard, instead of charging him, saluted him, and called him their General, admitting him at the same Time into the Camp. He made himself Master of the whole, without drawing a Sword: And all this was so suddenly executed, that *Scipio* knew nothing of it, till he, together with his Son, was arrested in his own Tent by SYLLA's Soldiers, who carried them both to their General. SYLLA *Ap. Alex.*
would not suffer that any Harm should be done to *de Bell.*
them. He, on the contrary, used all his Endeavours to gain the Consul, and persuade him to de- *Civ. l. 1.*
clare for him; but, finding him unshaken, he ge- *c. 20.*
nerously set him again at Liberty, giving him Leave *Plut. in*
to go where he should think fit, on Condition that *Sylla.*
he should not again take upon him the Command of any Forces against him.

This Stratagem having had so good Success, he *Norbanus*
fancied he might deal as well with *Norbanus*, the *defeated.*
other Consul. He sent Deputies to him to de-
mand

mand a Conference : But *Norbanus*, grown wise by the Miscarriage of his Colleague, detained those Deputies, and marched his Army that Moment to *Sylla's* Camp, with a Design to fall upon him unexpectedly. *Sylla* had not Time sufficient, upon the Approach of the Enemy, to range his Men in Order of Battle. Yet his Soldiers no ways daunted, though they had scarce any Thing to direct them but their own Courage, fought with so much Resolution, that *Norbanus*, after having lost more than seven thousand of his Men, was forced to make a hasty Retreat, very little different from Flight. He threw himself into *Capua*, with the Remains of his Army, with an Intent to defend that Place, if *Sylla* undertook to besiege it.

Idem.

Ap. *ibid.*

Sertorius
goes into
Spain.

The Remainder of the Campaign was on both Sides employed in secret Negotiations. Each Party endeavoured to debauch the Allies of the other. *Sylla*, a great Master in that Art, sent considerable Sums to the Countries at the very Foot of the *Alps*, in order to gain the *Cisalpine Gauls*; and his Agents brought him thence a powerful Supply. His Enemies, on the other Hand, sent *Sertorius* to *Spain*, who, by his Valour made himself Master of Part of those large Provinces, which afterwards were a Refuge and Retreat to those of that Party. Young *Marius* at the same Time determin'd the *Samnites* to declare in his Favour. Those People raised forty thousand Men, and gave the Command of them to *Pontius Telesinus*, the ablest Warrior in their Nation, and who had acquired much Honour in the Confederate War. So powerful a Succour was less occasion'd by their Attachment to *Marius* his Party, than a Consequence of their ancient Jealousy of the Power of the Commonwealth : Being too weak to encounter the united Strength of *Rome*, they did not declare for one Party, but with a View of undoing Both the more easily ; or, at least, to weaken a neighbouring

bouring State, that was become too powerful and terrible.

They soon after proceeded to the Election of new Carbo and Consuls at Rome. *Papirius Carbo* was chose for the young Ma-
third Time; and young *Marius*, the Nephew, ^{rius Con-}
others say the adopted Son of the great *Marius*, was ^{suls.}
appointed his Colleague, though he was not yet six ^{Year of} Rome,
and twenty Years of Age. They thought it ad- 671.

visable to raise him to that supreme Dignity, notwithstanding it was against Law and Custom, in order to have at the Head of a Party a Person whose Name was held in great Repute, and the Memory of whose Father might keep the People attach'd to their Interest. The Armies took the Field as soon as the Season would permit in the Spring. *Marius*, ^{A Fight}
at the Head of eighty-five Cohorts, offered Battle ^{between}
to *Sylla*. That General, who had a secret Intel- ^{Sylla and}
ligence in the Enemies Camp, accepted the Chal- ^{Marius,}
lenge. Both Armies fought with great Bravery. ^{who is de-}
^{feated.}

The Soldiers of each Side, were resolv'd to vanquish, or to die; and Fortune had not yet declared for either, when some Squadrons of *Marius's* Army, and five Cohorts of his Left Wing, that had been bribed with *Sylla's* Money, caused a Confusion by their unseasonable Flight, as they had agreed with *Sylla* to do. Their Example drew many others after them; a general Terror struck the rest of the Army, and it was at last more a Rout than a Battle. Several Cohorts were cut to Pieces. The great Name of *Caius Marius*, the Father, did no Ways lessen the Glory of the Son. That young Man show'd in Battle all the Abilities of an old experienced General, and the undaunted Courage of a young Officer. He rallied his Forces several Times, led them on again, and retired one of the last from the Field of Battle. At length perceiving that his whole Army was either cut to Pieces, or dispers'd, he threw himself into *Preneſte*, a strong Place, which had declared for his Party.

App. ibid.

This

*Young
Marius
besieged.*

*Sylla at
Rome.*

*Proscrip-
tion of
young
Marius.*

This was the greatest Over-sight he could have been guilty of; especially since he had yet several Armies that kept the Field, and were at his Command. *Sylla*, flattering himself he should put an End to the War, by taking the General, instantly invested *Preneſte*: He caused Lines, strengthened with Redoubts, to be thrown up; and the Circumvallation being perfected, he left the Care of the Blockade to *Lucretius Ofella*, one of his Lieutenants, whom he had gained over from *MARIUS* his Party by his Management. *Sylla* posted some Troops at the Defiles, through which Succours might be thrown into the Place; and incamp'd in such a Manner, that he cover'd at the same Time those advanced Troops, and the Blockade. He afterwards marched with a Detachment towards *Rome*. The Favourers of *MARIUS*, frightened at his Defeat, had fled the City. *Sylla* entered without any Opposition. The Inhabitants, famish'd and oppress'd with all the Calamities that attend a Civil War, open'd him the Gates. *Sylla*, having made himself Master of the Place, called the People together; complained of their having suffer'd themselves to be misled by the Malice of his Enemies; and, after having exposed to Sale the Goods of *Marius's* Followers, he return'd to his Army, to try, by the taking of that Captain, to put an End to the Civil War. *MARIUS*, in Despair for having shut himself up in *Preneſte*, and delivered himself, as it were, into the Hands of his Adversary, attributed the Cause of all his Misfortunes to a secret Correspondence which *Sylla* had kept up among his Adherents. He sent an Order to *Brutus*, Prætor of *Rome*, to make away with such as he suspected; and the Prætor, in Obedience to that cruel Proscription, caus'd *L. Domitius*, *Mutius Sævola*, the High-Priest and an excellent Lawyer, and *P. Antistius*, to be stabb'd as they came out of the Senate. People were
astonish'd

astonished to find *C. Carbo*, Brother, or Cousin to the Consul, included in this Proscription. It is App. probable, that *MARIUS* would not have ordered, ^{Alex.} nor *Brutus* dared to have executed, that Command, ^{l. 1.} without the Knowledge and Consent of the Consul himself: at least he showed not any Manner of Resentment at it. So true it is, that, in the Heat of Civil-wars, the Ties formed by Nature herself, are too weak to unite those whom Ambition or Interest have divided.

And, indeed, the Murder of *Carbo*, though by *Young* Order of *MARIUS*, and, as it were, in the very *Marius's* Prefence of his Brother, did not hinder that Con- *Party de-* sul from employing all his Industry to raise the *feated.* Blockade of *Preneſte*. That Blockade was now become the grand Affair of the War. *Carbo*, having resolved to throw Succours into the Place, fought a whole Day against *SYLLA's* Army, without succeeding in his Attempt. Whilst they were engaged, *Marcus*, another General of *MARIUS's* Party, at the Head of eight Legions, attempted to force the Defiles in another Quarter. But he found *Pompey* in his Way, who repulsed him, and cut Part of his Forces to Pieces. *Metellus* had, soon after, the same Fortune against *Carbo* and *Norbanus*. These two Generals having joined their Forces, and made a hasty March, to come upon him un-awares, reached his Camp in the Evening, which they immediately attacked. But *Metellus*, who justly was reputed one of the best Commanders of his Time, made them sensible, that a good General is never to be surprized. He had placed his Camp on a Ground surrounded with thick-set Vines, which served him for Pallisadoes. *Carbo* and *Norbanus* attacked this Camp with greater Heat than good Order. The Soldiers, embarrassed in those Vines, could not form themselves into Battalions; and, for that Reason, were in some Disorder, when they reached the Foot of the Intrenchments.

Albino-
vanus's
treachery.

App. ibid.

App. ibid.

Carbo
passes over
into A-
frica.

Metellus's Soldiers, from the Top of those In-
trenchments, killed a great many with their Darts;
and seeing them broke, they made a Sally, where
a great many more were slain. The Darkness of
the Night hid the Shame of those that fled; and
six thousand that could not readily enough dis-
entangle themselves out of these Vines, surrendered
to *Metellus*. Another Legion that was near *Me-
tellus's* Camp, upon the News of that Defeat, fol-
lowed their Example in spite of *Albinovanus*, who
commanded it, and who alone returned to *Nor-
banus*. But he did not long continue thus faithful.
As if his Return was with no other Intent than to
betray his General in a yet more infamous Manner,
he some Time after invited *Norbanus* to a Ban-
quet, together with his Lieutenants, *C. Apustius*,
and *Flavius Fimbria*, Brother of him that killed
himself in *Asia*. He invited to the same Enter-
tainment the chief Officers of that Party; and, in
the Middle of the Banquet, he caused them all to
be murdered, except the General, whom some Bu-
siness had prevented from coming. After so base
an Action, the Assassin went and surrendered him-
self to *SYLLA*, with all the Accomplices of his
Crime. *Norbanus*, quite hopeless, after so many
Misfortunes, and not longer knowing who to trust,
went on Board a small Smack, which carried him
to *Rhodes*. *SYLLA* sent immediately to demand
him of the *Rhodians*; and, whilst the Magistrates
were deliberating what to do in so nice an Affair,
Norbanus, fearing to be delivered into the Hands
of his Enemy, killed himself in the Middle of the
public Square.

Carbo met with no better Fate: He again tried
several Times to give *MARIUS* an Opportunity of
getting out of *Preneſte*, but always miscarried.
Lucullus, one of *SYLLA's* Lieutenants, who was re-
turned from *Asia*, defeated Part of his Army near
Placentia; and *Pompey*, near *Clusium*, cut to Pieces
twenty

twenty thousand Men, that were left him after so many Encounters. The Consul, not thinking himself strong enough to keep the Field, quitted *Italy*, and embarked to pass over into *Africa*. But after having been tossed to and fro upon the Sea for some Time, he fell into *Pompey's* Hands, who, to cut up the Root of the Civil-war, put him to Death. Of that great Number of Chiefs, that had followed *Marius's* Party, there remained only *Carinas*, *Martias* and *Damasippus*, who were yet at the Head of four Legions. The *Romans*, being obstinately resolved to continue the War, joined *Telesinus*, General of the *Samnites*. They together agreed to make a last Effort, and either to perish, or to relieve *Preneſte*. *Telesinus* advanced boldly, with a Design to force the Lines. He had, in his Army above sixty thousand Men, all *Samnites*, and sworn Enemies of the *Roman* Name, or *Roman* Soldiers; who could expect no Safety, but by the Defeat of the opposite Party. *SYLLA*, at the Head of a victorious Army, advanced to meet them; and he sent Orders to *Pompey*, who commanded another Body, to follow *Telesinus*, and to fall on his Rear, whilst he should attack him in Front. But, whilst these two Generals were making these Movements, *Telesinus*, out-witting them both, gave them the slip; and, by a Counter-march during the whole Night, advanced towards *Rome*, which he knew to be defenceless. His Army, in Hopes to plunder that mighty City, marched with so much Eagerness, that their Van was discovered in the Morning from the Hills near *Rome*. Never was a Surprise equal to that of its Inhabitants. They saw themselves just going to fall a Prey to an Army of Strangers, who, under Pretence that *SYLLA* had been admitted therein, would not fail of revenging their deserting their Party, (though equally forced on both Sides) with the Massacre of all the Citizens, and Plunder of the whole Town.

*Carbo put
to Death.*

*Telesinus's Policy and
Valour.*

*Telesinus
ready to
sack
Rome.*

Plut. in
Sylla.

Battle.

Sylla re-
lieves
Rome.

The Gates are immediately shut; the Men arm themselves, and line the Walls with Engines and Archers; whilst the Women, all in Tears, run to the Temples to implore the Assistance of the Gods. Fear and Disorder increase, as *Telestinus* comes nearer to the City. He was a second *Hannibal* at the Gates of *Rome*, and already thought himself Master of it. He then pulled off the Mask; he no longer conceals that implacable Hatred which he bore the *Romans*: As much an Enemy to *MARIUS* as to *Sylla*, his Design was to destroy *Rome*, and to bury the very last of its Inhabitants under the Ruins. He walked through all the Lines and Ranks of His Army: *We must*, said he, *cut down the Forest, where those ravenous Wolves take Shelter. Let Fire and Sword destroy all; spare nothing: Mankind can never be free, as long as any Romans remain alive.* His Troops, fired by such Speeches, advanced furious. All the *Roman* Youth that were in the City, made a Sally under the Conduct of *Appius Claudius*; not so much to hinder the Approach of so powerful an Army, as to defer the Ruin of the City, and to give Time to *Sylla* to come to its Assistance. The *Romans* behaved themselves like Men, who fight for the Defence of their Country, in the Sight of their Fellow-Citizens, of their Wives, and of their Children. *Appius* was slain in this Action; and those that fought under him could now expect no better Fate, considering the Inequality of their Forces, when seven hundred Horse were seen to enter *Rome*; whom *Sylla* had commanded to hasten on a full Gallop, and throw themselves into the City. They were no sooner arrived, but they marched out at another Gate, and joined those that were engaged with the foremost of the *Samnites*. *Sylla* was marching up with all the Diligence which his Infantry would permit; and he was in the greatest Agony and Concern, when he considered that *Rome*, the Price of all

all his Victories, was in Danger of falling into the Hands of Strangers. At last he arrived about Noon, and encamped near the Temple of *Venus*. App. l. 1. Hardly had he granted a few Minutes to his Soldiers to recover themselves of their Fatigue, when Plut. in Sylla. he called them again to Arms, and regulated the Order of Battle. He gave the Command of the Right Wing to *M. Crassus*. The Left he chose for himself. Most of his chief Officers endeavoured to persuade him to put off the Battle till next Day. They represented to him, that on the Success of this Conjunction depended his whole Fortune; that his Troops, fatigued by a hasty March, had occasion to rest, especially being to fight against the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, warlike Nations, over whom the *Romans* never got any Advantage that did not cost them very dear. But SYLLA, overruled by his Courage, ordered to sound to Battle, and marched directly against the Enemy. The Fight was equally bloody and obstinate on both Sides, chiefly on the Left Wing, where he himself Telefinus beats Sylla. commanded. The *Samnites* fought with their usual Valour, pushed his Forces, and broke them. Several Cohorts, and entire Legions, not able to bear the Shock, gave Way, and fled. Sylla hastens to rally them; he presents himself, Sword in Hand, before the Run-aways, to stop them: But the Soldier, frightened, has no Regard to any Command; every one, to save his Life, endeavours to get into *Rome*. The Inhabitants, fearing lest the Victor should enter together with the Vanquished, shut the Gate on that Side, and let fall the Portcullis, which killed several Senators of Sylla's Army. It is reported, that that General, in this imminent Danger, took out of his Bosom a Medal, or a small Image of *Apollo*, which he constantly carried about him; and, as Danger and Fear usually awaken religious Sentiments, it is said that he made the following Speech to it as

to his tutelar God: O thou who hast brought off Cornelius Sylla victorious out of so many Battles; Hast thou conducted him through continual Victories, to the very Gates of his native City, with no other End than there to make him perish with Shame? He then rallied those of his Soldiers that had been shut out of the City-Gate. They, though frightened, yet forced by Necessity, faced the Enemy again. The Fight recommenced with fresh Fury; nothing but Night parted them. Sylla, disconsolate at his ill Success, and not knowing how Things had fallen out at the Right Wing, retired to his Camp.

Telestinus
defeated by
Crassus.

App.
Ibid.

Sylla's
Cruelty.

Preneſte
taken
Vell. l. 2,
c. 27.

It was late in the Night when Crassus sent him Word, that he had overcome the Enemy on his Side, and pursued them as far as *Antenna*; where, because of the Night, he had been forced to encamp. Sylla went thither by Break of Day; and after having given to his Lieutenant, and his Troops, all the Praises which so great a Service deserved, he went to view the Field of Battle, which he found covered with more than fifty thousand slain. Among the rest, they took Notice of the Body of *Telestinus*, wherein were yet seen the Marks of that great Courage and Fierceness which he had shown during the Battle. Eight thousand were taken Prisoners, whom Sylla instantly caused to be shot to Death with Darts. *Marcus* and *Carinas*; having been stopped in their Flight, had their Heads cut off; and Sylla sent them to *Lucretius*, as Proofs of his Victory, and with Orders to have them carried round the Walls of *Preneſte*. The Inhabitants and the Garrison, having heard of this Defeat, and of the Flight of *Norbanus* and *Carbo*, and seeing themselves without any Provisions or Prospect of Relief, opened the Gates. *Marius* endeavoured to make his Escape through some subterraneous Passages, together with a young *Samnite*, brother of *Telestinus*: But, having found all the Issues of them that opened in the Country, guarded

guarded by some of Sylla's Soldiers, those two Marius Chiefs kill'd each other, that they might not fall ^{and his} alive into the Hands of their Enemy. Sylla ^{Companion} caus'd all the Inhabitants to be put to Death, ^{kill each} except the Women and Children. Those of the Town of *Norbe*, who, after a long Siege, and an *Norbe* obstinate Resistance, saw themselves just going to ^{sacked.} experience the same Fate, set Fire to their Habitations, and then kill'd one another, not only that they might deprive the Soldiers of the Plunder, but also not leave it in Sylla's Power to dispose of their Lives. The taking of this Place put an End to the Civil-war; and Sylla, victorious over so many different Enemies, entered *Rome* at the Head of his Troops. Happy had he been, if in Peace he had preserved the Glory that he had now acquire'd in War, or if he had ceas'd to live at the same Time he ceas'd to Conquer!

Sylla's Lieutenants made themselves Masters of Sylla's all the Cities in *Italy*, and put strong Garrisons in- ^{barbarous} to all those Places that had formerly declared for *MARIUS*. What was left of so many Armies, that had been oppos'd to Sylla, sent him Deputies, desiring Quarter. He sent them Word, that he would spare the Lives of those who should make themselves worthy of it, by putting their Companions to Death: A Way of proscribing entirely new, which oblig'd those unfortunate Men to turn their Arms against each other. A great Number were destroy'd in this Manner. Six thousand, that escap'd this Massacre, came to *Rome*. Sylla caused ^{Plut. in} them to be shut up in the *Hippodrome*, and at the ^{Sylla.} same Time summoned the Senate to the Temple of *Bellona*, which was in that Neighbourhood. As he was naturally eloquent, he spoke of his great Exploits in very magnificent Terms. Whilst all the Senate was harkening to his Speech, his Troops, by his Command, entred the *Hippodrome*, and massacred the six thousand just mention'd.

The Senate, unacquainted with his Orders, amazed at the Cry of those unfortunate Men that were murdering, look'd aghast, thinking that he had deliver'd up the whole City to be plunder'd by his Soldiers. But *Sylla*, without being moved, or altering his Countenance, told them coldly, they need not be uneasy at what they heard without; that it was only a Pack of Villians, whom his Soldiers were punishing by his Order. Thus he talked of the Troops of the contrary Party; and we are told, that in the next Assembly of the People, he declared, with a severe and haughty Mein, that he designed to treat all his Enemies in the like Manner, and would not pardon one, of what Condition soever; and soon after, he caused the Names of forty Senators, and of sixteen hundred Knights, whom he proscribed, to be put in the Market-Place.

*Sylla's
Proscrip-
tion.*

Two Days after, he proscribed forty Senators more, and an infinite Number of the richest Citizens of *Rome*. He declared the Sons and Grandsons of those that he had proscrib'd infamous, and deprived of all their Rights and privileges of Citizenship. By a public Decree he ordained, That whoever should protect or harbour one of the proscribed, should be themselves proscribed in their Stead. He set a Price upon their Heads of all that were proscribed, and promised * two Talents for the Murder of each of them. Slaves, that assassinated their Masters, received the same Reward for their Treason; and, to the Shame of Human-kind be it spoken, Children were found so barbarous, as with their bloody Hands to claim that Reward for having murdered their own Fathers. *Lucius Cataline*, who, to possess his Brother's Estate, had caused him to be killed, desired *Sylla*, whose Adherent he was, that he would be pleased to set down that Brother, whom he had killed a long while before, among the attainted, that by that Stratagem he

*Plut. in
Sylla.*

*Cataline's
Cruelty.*

* 35,000 *Livres*.

might

might palliate the Enormity of his Crime. *Sylla* having granted him his Request, *Cataline*, to show him his Gratitude, went that Moment to *Marcus MARIUS*, Kinsman to the great *MARIUS*, killed him, and brought his Head to the public *Forum*. While his Hands were yet besmear'd with the Blood of that unfortunate Man, he entred the Temple of *Apollo*, which was near, and washed them in the lustral Water, that he might add Impiety and Sacrilege to Murder and Assassination.

This cruel Proscription did not reach only those of *Marius's* Party. *Sylla*, who counted a Man's Life for nothing, permitted his Friends and Officers with Impunity to revenge themselves of all their private Enemies. Great Wealth became a Crime; and whoever had the Name of being rich, was not innocent. *Quintus Aurelius*, a peaceable Citizen, who had always lived in a happy Obscurity, without being taken Notice of, either by *Marius* or *Sylla*, perceiving to his great Astonishment, that his Name was down in the fatal List, where the Names of the proscribed were wrote, lamenting himself, said, *Ab me, unhappy Wretch! it is my fine House at Alba that causes my Death*. And a few Paces farther he was assassinated by a Ruffian who had undertaken to do it. Every Day fresh Numbers were proscribed and murdered, and Nobody was sure of living a Day. In this general Destruction, *C. Metellus* alone took Courage to ask *Sylla* in full Senate, When he design'd to put a stop to the Misery of his Fellow-Citizens? *We do not*, said he to him, *ask you to forgive any of those that you have resolved shall die; but pray free us from an Uncertainty worse than Death itself, and let us know at least, who it is you design to spare*. *Sylla*, without seeming to take that bold Speech any ways amiss, answered him very coolly, That he had not yet fixed the Number of those he design'd to let live. But that as

*Metellus's
Courage.*

Plut. ibid.

*Sylla's
Pride,
Cruelty,
and Avarice.*

to the others, he had at first proscribed such as his Memory presented to him; that he reserved to himself the Liberty of doing the same for the future, just as his Memory should continue to suggest to him the Names of his Enemies. He afterwards proscribed Towns, nay, whole Nations, instead of naming any private Persons, as he did at first. He seized, by a Sort of Confiscation, on all the Estates, Houses, and Territories of all the Towns in *Italy*, that had declar'd for *Marius* during the Civil-war. He therewith rewarded his Soldiers, whom thereby he the stronger attached to his Fortune and Interest. But as those Usurpations, and several other to be mentioned hereafter, were not likely to be very lasting; those that had the Benefit of them, insinuated to him, that he should take upon him the Dictatorship, in order to give the Force of the Law, and a Colour of Right, to the different Alterations he was making in the Republic.

Prerogatives of a Dictator.

We have observ'd before, that after the *Romans* had abolished Kingly Government, they yet had preserv'd, in some Sense, the Likeness of that Dignity in that of the Dictatorship. The Power of that Sovereign Magistrate was boundless. The Authority of the Consuls, and other inferior Magistrates, except that of the Tribunes, were entirely superseded by it. He had Power of Life and Death over his Fellow-Citizens; he was free to raise Troops or disband Armies whenever he thought proper, and without being bound to give Reasons for his Conduct to any Body. Twenty-four Lictors, carrying the Fasces and the Axes, walked before him when he went Abroad; and the General of the Horse followed him every where. The Nomination of that Office was entirely in the Dictator, and he was in the Nature of his Lieutenant. In a Word, the Dictator had all the Power and Show of a King. But, as he might have made a wrong Use of a Power so absolute, and perhaps greater

greater than ever the ancient Kings of *Rome* had, Nobody was raised to that supreme Dignity, but in the greatest Dangers of the Common-wealth; as when it was attack'd by the powerful Enemies, or was disturb'd by dangerous intestine Commotions; and Care was taken never to invest any Body with that Power, so much fear'd by Republicans, for a longer Time than six Months at most. *Sylla*, absolute Master in *Rome*, would have it for an undetermined Time. And thus did the *Romans*, who had chang'd Kingly Government into the Republican, under Consuls and Military Tribunes, relapse again, after many Ages, under the absolute Power of One: Though *Sylla*, to lessen the Aversion Common-wealths Men must have to such a Government, had masked over a true Royalty with the less odious Title and Dignity of Dictatorship.

Cicer. in
Rulliana
tertia. Id.
l. i. de
Legibus.

But the *Romans* were too clear-sighted, not to perceive, that under ancient and familiar Names there was arisen a Power quite new, and inconsistent with Liberty. *Sylla* being perpetual Dictator, or, to speak more properly, the King an absolute Sovereign of *Rome*, altered at his own Pleasure the Constitution and Form of Government. He abrogated ancient Laws, created new ones, made himself Master of the public Treasure, and in a despotic Manner disposed of all the Estates and Fortunes, of his Fellow-Citizens, whom he considered upon the Foot of his other Conquests. *Crassus* alone obtained the better Part of them. That Man, who was afterwards called the richest of all the *Romans*, was not ashamed to ask of him the forfeited Estates of the proscribed, or to buy their Estates at very low Raets, when they were sold publicly in the *Forum*. *Sylla*, who was as liberal to his Friends, as he was hard and inexorable to his Enemies, took a Pleasure in lavishing the Treasures of the Common-wealth upon those who had devoted themselves to his Fortune.

Sylla
perpetual
Dictator.

Plut. in
Crasso.

Fortune. But then he expected at their Hands an entire and blind Submission. *Pompey*, by his Order, put from him his Wife, called *Antistia*, Daughter of the Senator *Antistius*, whom young *Marius* had put to Death; and was obliged to marry *Emilia*, Daughter-in-law to *Sylla*, born of a former Marriage of his Wife *Metella* with *Scaurus*. It was by Virtue of the same Sovereign Power which he exercised indifferently over all the *Romans*, that he strove to compel *Julius Caesar*, Nephew of *Marius*'s Wife, to be divorced from his Wife *Cornelia*, Daughter of *Cinna*: But *Caesar*, tho' but a Youth, had the Boldness to resist him. He even presented himself with a surprizing Confidence in the Assembly of the People, demanding to be declared Priest of *Jupiter*. *SYLLA* not only caused him to be rejected, but resolv'd besides to proscribe him. It was not without infinite Difficulties that his Friends obtained his Pardon; and as they told *SYLLA*, that he could have nothing to fear from such a Youth, it is said, he answered, That in that Man, as young as he was, he could discern a great many *Marius*'s. The Relations and Friends of *Caesar* hearing of this Reply, and knowing how much the Dictator hated all that had any the least Relation with *Marius*, persuaded him to leave *Rome*, whither he did not return till after the Death of *SYLLA*.

Sylla regulates the Government.

From these Animadversions on private Persons, the Dictator passed to the Civil Government, and the regulating of the Senate. He introduc'd into that Body three hundred Knights, to fill up the Room of that vast Number of Senators that had perished in the Civil-war, or by his Proscriptions. But that he might at the same Time lessen the Authority of the Knights, he took from them the Right of enquiring into the Crime of Extortion and Peculate, which *Caius Gracchus* had conferr'd on them. He at the same Time increased the Number of *Plebeians*

beians with ten thousand Slaves, who had belonged to Persons proscrib'd, giving them the Name of *Cornelians*, that they might ever remember the Author of their Liberty. He afterwards published several Laws, some of which were new, and others the same which he had formerly got pass'd during his Consulship, but which had been abrogated by *Marius* and *Cinna*. His principal Design was to repress the Ambition of such who attempted, at once, to arrive to the chief Dignities of the State; and to lessen, at the same Time, the Authority of the Tribunes of the People, whom he had always greatly oppos'd. He ordain'd, by the first of those Laws, that Nobody should be admitted to the Office of Prætor, who had not been a Quæstor before; and that no Citizen should be chosen Consul, but who had been Prætor before; nor obtain the same Dignity a second Time, till ten Years after the first Time. By a second Law he excluded those who had once been Tribunes of the People, from all other Magistracies; which made that Dignity, which us'd to be the next after the Dictatorship, and the most powerful in the Common-wealth, very little regarded.

He had these Laws pass'd in Assemblies of the *Sylla's* *Roman* People. They all voted for them; Nobody durst be of an Opinion contrary to that of the Dictator; and the Example of *Lucretius Ofella* showed, how dangerous it was either to oppose him, or not tamely to submit. *Lucretius* was one of SYLLA's Lieutenants, who had done him some of the most important Services. It was he who had besieged and taken *Preneſte*, and reduc'd *Marius* the younger to the fatal Necessity of killing himself. That Officer aspir'd to be chosen Consul, tho' he had never been Prætor. SYLLA sent him Word to forbear insisting on his Pretensions, as being contrary to the new Laws he had just established. *Lucretius* relying on his Services, did not
 imagine

App.

Alex. l. 2.

c. 2.

Plaut. in

Sylla.

Sylla's
Abdica-
tion.

imagine that those new Laws ought to affect SYLLA's Lieutenants; and, having a powerful Party among the People, he appeared on the Day of Election as one of the Candidates. SYLLA, offended at his Proceeding, caused him to be stabbed on the Spot by one of his Captains. The People, ignorant of the Cause of this Murder, fell upon that Officer, and dragged him before the Dictator to have him punished. Sylla commanded him to be set at Liberty, and directing his Speech to the People: *Know, Romans (said he) That it was by my special Command that Man was kill'd, because he refused to obey me; and that every one shall meet with the same Treatment, who shall offer to transgress my Laws and Ordinances.* The People, frighten'd to see themselves under so tyrannical a Government, went Home.

However, this Man, who had usurped so absolute a Power, and who, to arrive thereat, had undergone so many Hazards, and fought so many Battles, took it all on a sudden in his Head to lay it down again. Sylla, after having destroy'd more than an hundred thousand of his Fellow-Citizens in the Civil War, after having caused ninety Senators, of which fifteen had been Consuls, and more than six and twenty hundred Knights, to be massacred; that Man, I say, whose chief Passion had been Revenge, and who had satiated it with such a prodigious Quantity of Blood, was daring enough to divest himself of the Sovereign Power. He laid down the Dictatorship and, un-compell'd, reduc'd himself to a Level with a Private Citizen, without fearing the Resentment of so many illustrious Families, the Heads of which he had destroy'd by his cruel Proscriptions. On the contrary, it is related, that immediately upon laying down the Dictatorship, he cry'd out aloud, in the Middle of the *Forum*, that he was ready to give an Account of his whole Administration.

He,

He, at the same Time, sent away his Lictors, App. l. i. dismissed his Guards, and, after that, continued c. 24. walking in the *Forum* with some of his Friends, and before the Multitude, who, struck with Astonishment, looked on so unexpected a Change, as on a Prodigy. In the Evening he returned Home by himself and like a private Man; no one, among that great Number of Enemies he had created himself, daring to insult him. There was in that prodigious City, but one young hair-brain'd Fellow who publicly affronted him; who followed him as far as his House, calling him Names. *Sylla* disdain'd to return him any Answer; and only, in a Manner prophetically, said, That the Insolence of that young Fellow would be the Cause, that if any Body after Him arrived to the same Degree of Power, he would not lay it down so easily as He had now done. The *Romans*, in general, deemed this so surprizing Abdication to be his greatest and last Effort of Magnanimity and Heroism. His Proscriptions were forgot: They gladly forgave him his many Murders, for the Sake of Liberty, which he restored to his Country.

His Enemies, on the other Hand, attributed so *Sylla's* great a Change to the natural Uneasiness of his ^{quiet} Mind, and the continual Fear that some *Roman* ^{Death.} might be brave enough, at one Stroke to deprive him of the Empire and Life too. Whatever was the true one among all these different Motives, *Sylla*, after having shed so much Blood, died as quietly in his Bed, as the most peaceable Citizen of the Common-wealth could have wish'd to do. He compos'd his own Epitaph a few Days before he died; and therein we find his true Character. It was thus in Substance, *That Nobody had ever out-* ^{His Epi-} *done him, either in obliging his Friends, or in perse-* ^{raph.} *cuting his Enemies.*

His

His abdicating the Dictatorship shewed, That Ambition and Desire of reigning, had not been his predominant Passion, and that he had seized on the Sovereign Power, only that he might more surely revenge himself on his Enemies. But the dangerous Example of a simple Citizen, who had found Means to raise himself to Empire, and maintain himself therein, made those that followed him sensible, *That the Romans could bear a Master*; which was the Ground of more Revolutions.

Lepidus's
vain Pro-
jects.

His Cha-
racter.

Year of
Rome,
675.

Plot. in
Sylla.

Scarce were the Eyes of *Sylla* clos'd, but *M. Emilius Lepidus*, first Consul, undertook, in Imitation of him, to make himself Master of the Government. But for the accomplishing a Design of so high a Nature, his Interests and Abilities were insufficient, and far short of his Ambition. He was a Man little esteem'd by the Soldiery; more a Courtier than a Commander; a deep Dissembler, and one who had raised himself by doing many little and ungenerous Things. Tho' he had declar'd himself for the Nobility, who seem'd to him the most powerful Party; or, to speak more properly, tho' he had stoop'd to *Sylla's* absolute Authority, the Dictator, who knew him perfectly well, and mistrusted him, would never suffer him to be chosen Consul. But after he had laid down the Dictatorship, *Pompey*, who now bore the greatest Sway, deceived by the feigned Attachment of *Lepidus*, openly favour'd his Election: And on the Day of the *Comitia*, he caused him to be nominated first Consul, preferably to *Q. Catulus*, his Colleague, and Son of that Consular, whom *Marius* had put to Death.

It is related, That when *Sylla* saw *Pompey* returning from the Election with a joyful Countenance, and pleased that *Lepidus*, whom he thought his Creature, not only was elected, but had also had the Preference above *Catulus*, he said to him aloud, *Are not you ashamed, young Man, to applaud yourself*
for

for having got such a Man as LEPIDUS chosen first Consul, in Exclusion of Catulus, one of our best Citizens? He afterwards warned him, That he must expect to find in LEPIDUS, at best, a very weak and doubtful Friend, and perhaps a dangerous Enemy, who, if he could find his Advantage in it, would turn against his Benefactor that Authority which his Imprudence had procur'd him.

The Conduct of LEPIDUS soon made it plain, that *Sylla* was no ways mistaken in his Character, notwithstanding he had very much endeavoured to conceal himself. But he had scarce taken Possession of the Consulship, when it was discern'd that he endeavoured, by sowing new Divisions, to made himself Master of the sovereign Power, and usurp the same Authority as *Sylla* had done.

We have seen more than once in this History, ^{Lepidus declares against the great ones.} that the Great Men of *Rome* had commonly, to gratify their Ambition, made Use of one of these two Pretences, viz. the Interest of the People, or that of the Senate. Both Ways were open to LEPIDUS. It is true, that, as we observ'd before, to accommodate himself to the present State of the Common-wealth, he had declar'd for the *Patrician* Party: But those were weak Ties for an aspiring Man. And besides, as he found that *Pompey*, *Metellus*, *Crassus*, and even his Colleague *Catulus*, all Men of more Weight and Interest than himself, were the Chiefs of that Party, he thought that he should have a greater Number of Adherents, if he went over to *MARIUS* his Party, most of whose Chiefs had been destroy'd in the Civil War, and which subsisted no where but in the ancient Antipathy of the *Plebeians* against the *Patricians*. It was in order to revive this last Party, that he proposed to abolish some of the Laws made by *Sylla*. *Catulus*, his Colleague in the Consulship, opposed him with a great deal of Courage and Resolution. The two Parties hereupon declared each for one or

other of the Consuls. LEPIDUS, to strengthen his Party, and bring over the Nations of *Italy* to his Side, sent them Word, that he design'd to reinstate them in the five and thirty ancient Tribes, and restore to them those Lands which the Dictator had taken from them to reward his Army. This Declaration did not fail of increasing his Party very much. *Rome* saw herself again on the Brink of being the Theatre of a Civil War: But the Senate interposed its Authority, and made both Consuls promise upon Oath, that Neither should take up Arms against the Other during their Consulate.

App. l. 1.
c. 25.
Plut. in
Pompeio.
Lepidus
joins Brutus and
Perpenna.

LEPIDUS thought himself disengaged of his Oath as soon as his Consulate expired, at which Time the Government of *Gallia Cisalpina* was allotted to him. He immediately began to raise an Army there, and got into his Party *Brutus* and *Perpenna*, both Prætorians; who had each the Command of a considerable Body of Forces, and were encamped near *Modena*. LEPIDUS, strengthened with this Supply, and seeing no Army in *Italy* that could withstand his, marched straight to *Rome*, in Hopes of being a second *Sylla*, if he could make himself Master of the City. The Senate, apprized of his March and Designs, put themselves in a Condition to keep him out. Legions were soon lifted. *Catulus*, who was appointed General, encamped without the Gates. LEPIDUS, to swell his Party, caused some Papers to be spread about in *Rome*; wherein he invited the People, and *Marius's* Party, to come out to join him. But, as they had no great Opinion of his Abilities or Courage, and that the People moreover could not brook the Design of incorporating the *Italians* into the ancient Tribes; not a Man stirred in his Behalf. Yet, as he was too far advanced to go back, it soon came to a Battle; and *Catulus*, at the Head of the Legions, and of all the Nobility then in *Rome*, charged him so briskly, that after but a slender Resistance, he cut

Part

Part of his Army to Pieces, and forced the other to run away. *Lepidus*, in Despair at this ill Success, after having wandered about some Time in Disguise, and had been forced to conceal himself in several Parts of *Italy*, at last went over to *Sardinia*, where he had some Friends. *Perpenna*, one of his Lieutenants, went afterwards to him, with the Remains of his Army. Several of *MARIUS*'s Party likewise joined him. He made new Levies: His Party insensibly increased; and in a little while he saw himself at the Head of a new Army. His Design was to carry the War into *Sicily*; where he had secret Correspondents. But, soon afterwards, News was brought that he died of Grief; having intercepted a Letter, which left him no Room to doubt of his Wife's Disloyalty. His Party fell with him. *Brutus* had met with no better Fate. That Captain, not being able to get into *Sicily*, and join *Lepidus*, had thrown himself into *Modena*, with some Troops that were under his Command; less with a Design to continue the War, than to have Time to capitulate and obtain better Terms. And, indeed, *Pompey* having Orders to besiege him there, he no sooner appeared before the Place, but *Brutus* opened him the Gates, and asked no other Conditions, than to have the Liberty to retire in Safety to a little Village upon the Banks of the *Po*. *Pompey* consented. He even wrote to the Senate, that the Quickness of *Brutus*'s Submission had ended the War. Yet, in Violation of the Treaty and his Word, he sent *Russians* a few Days after, to stab him in that very Village which he had chose for his Retreat: Whether because he learned that he was again secretly caballing with *Lepidus*; or whether that young General, trained up in the cruel Politics of *SYLLA*, thought it unsafe to let any Chief of that Party live, we know not. *Perpenna*, after the Death of those two Chiefs, got together their Army; and finding himself

Lepidus
dies of
Grief.

Brutus
stabbed by
Russians
sent from
Pompey
Plut. ibid.

Perpenna at the Head of fifty-three * Cohorts, he marched them into *Spain*. His Design was to settle there, to make War on his own Account, and without depending upon any Superior ; following herein the Example of *Sertorius*, a General of great Fame, who yet maintained the Party of *MARIUS* in *Lusitania*.

Pompey

Succeeds to

Sylla.

Plut. ibid.

Pursues

Perpenna

and Sertorius.

Plut. in

Sert.

SYLLA had caused the Government of those vast Provinces to be given to *Metellus*, one of his Lieutenants. The Senate, fearing he would not be able to withstand these two Chiefs, if they joined their Forces, sent *Pompey* to his Assistance with fresh Troops. *Pompey*, in whom the Senate confided entirely, and who, since SYLLA's Death, was reputed the first General of the Common-wealth, soon began his March, and carried with him those very Troops, that more than once had defeated those of *MARIUS*'s Party. *Perpenna*'s Soldiers, who had no great Opinion of his Military Skill, hearing that *Pompey* was coming against them, took their Arms and their Ensigns; and, without asking *Perpenna*'s Advice, cried out, That it behoved them to join *Sertorius*: That they had Occasion for so experienced a Warrior to command them; and that if he refused to conduct them to his Camp, they would find the Way to it themselves, and carry their Ensigns along with them. *Perpenna* was enraged at this general Defection; but not thinking himself safe any where but with the Companions of his Rebellion, he was forced to follow them. He arrived at *Sertorius*'s Camp; and, from an absolute and independant General, he found himself compelled by his own Soldiers to be content to act as an inferior Officer. The Junction of *Pompey* with *Metellus*, and that of *Perpenna* with *Sertorius*, gave a new Life to the War. *Sertorius*, who was as bold as he was experienced, had commonly the Advantage, chiefly over *Pompey*; whom the Desire of distinguishing himself, and the Fear of dividing

* 32,000 Men.

his Glory, usually separated from *Metellus*. That young General, whose Reputation was at such a Pitch at *Rome*, had even the Displeasure to be a Looker on at the taking and burning of the Town of *Lauro* by *Sertorius*, after having in vain attempted to relieve it.

It is said, That having engag'd himself too far, and minding only the Enemy's Army that was forming the Siege before him, he saw upon the adjacent Hills Troops of Mountaineers, who appear'd all of a sudden, and, by their Excursions into the Plain, hinder'd him from extending his Army, and foraging there : So that he that was come to raise the Siege, found himself in a Manner besieged and invested by those numerous Parties ; which oblig'd him to keep very close. *Sertorius* having shown his principal Officers the Disposition of his Camp, and the different Posts that his Troops possess'd, added, speaking slightly of POMPEY, That SYLLA's Scholar was yet raw in his Art ; and he would shortly teach him, that it is more incumbent on the General of an Army to look behind, than before him. And indeed, POMPEY, fearing lest those Troops of *Sertorius*, upon the Mountains, should grow numerous, and strong enough to cut off his Retreat, resolv'd to march off in Time. He was oblig'd to give over all Thoughts of throwing Succours into the Place. *Sertorius* carry'd it Sword in Hand : And tho' he was not of a cruel Temper, he thought himself oblig'd to set Fire to it ; thereby to deter other Towns in *Spain*, and make them sensible, that *Pompey's* Protection could avail them little against his Power and Resentment.

POMPEY, extremely concern'd that he could not prevent a Town from being burnt in his Presence, for having chosen his Party, was every Day looking for an Opportunity of taking his Revenge. He thought he had it near *Sucrone* : and tho' *Metellus* was not far off, he fancied himself strong enough

Sertorius's
Advanta-
ges over
Pompey.

Pompey
defeated by
Sertorius.

Year of
Rome,
679.

enough to defeat the Enemy without his Assistance. He attacked *Sertorius* in a Plain; but he (whose *Spanish* Horse out-did the *Roman*) push'd *Pompey* so briskly, that his *Italian* Horse being broke, put his Foot in Confusion and Disorder. *Pompey* narrowly escaped being taken; and his Army had been entirely defeated, if *Metellus* had not advanced to his Aid. *Sertorius* seeing the Legions of that old General near, retired to his Camp, and said jestingly to his Officers; *If that old Woman, meaning Metellus, had not rescued her Child out of my Hands, I would have sent him back to Rome to his Relations, after having chastised him as he deserved.*

Sertorius's
Valour and
Conduct.

Plut. in
Sertorio

Pompey, less presuming, and grown a little wiser by his ill Success, judged rightly, that he could not without Danger keep separate from *Metellus*. They joined their Forces: But notwithstanding they were become superior in Number by it, they run continually fresh Hazards wherever they incamped. They had to do with an Enemy, who surprized them sometimes by Day, sometimes by Night. His Troops, consisting mostly of *Spaniards* and Mountaineers, active and nimble, attacked them continually, and retreated as expeditiously. The *Roman* Soldiers, heavily arm'd, and accustomed to a close Battle, could never come up with them. *Sertorius* alone had the Direction of all these Skirmishes: It seemed as if he multiplied himself: The two *Roman* Generals always met him at the Head of those that attack'd them. If he gained any Advantage, he then push'd his Enemy without giving them Time to recover themselves. And if he met with too great a Resistance, and fear'd to be surrounded, his Soldiers, as he had taught them, dispersed immediately several Ways. They fled among the Rocks and Mountains; and upon the least Signal, rallied again, and came to their General: He then return'd, and charged again on another Quarter. It look'd as if they were fresh Troops,

Troops, and another Army, which he had found ready to enter upon Action. By this Method of making War, which was favour'd by the Nature of the Country, he never gave any Rest, neither to his Enemy, nor his own Troops.

His Reputation, and the Account of the Advantages which he gain'd every Day against the two most eminent *Roman* Generals, flew as far as *Asia*. We have already heard, That *Mitbridates* press'd by SYLLA, had been oblig'd, in order to obtain Peace, to submit to the Law of the Conqueror, and accept of all the Terms which he was pleas'd to dictate; and that the *Roman* General had put a Stop to his victorious Arms, with no other View, than to be at Liberty to turn them against MARIUS, and his other private Enemies.

Mitbridates, after SYLLA's Decease, and during Plut. ibid. the Civil-wars that disturb'd the Common-wealth, thought he could never renew the War in more favourable Circumstances. He rais'd a powerful Army; and, in order to foment the Civil War, and to keep up a Diversion very advantageous to his Designs, he sent to *Sertorius*, proposing to unite their Interests. His Deputies offer'd him considerable Sums for the Charge of the War, with a Fleet at his own Disposal; on Condition, that he would suffer that Prince to re-conquer those Provinces of *Asia*, which the Necessity of his Affairs had forced him to give up by the Treaty made with SYLLA.

Sertorius called a Council. All that were present were of Opinion, That it was scarce Matter for Deliberation: And withal represented to him, That for a Supply so real and so ready, as Money and a Fleet, which were offer'd him, he was bound to no other Expence than an empty Consent, required of him, an Undertaking, which he could no ways hinder. But *Sertorius*, with a Great-Sertoriusness of Soul worthy of a true *Roman*, protested, refuses That he could never hearken to a Treaty contrary Mithri- dates's to Alliance.

Plut. in
Sert.

to the Glory or the Interest of his Country ; and that he even scorn'd to obtain a Victory over his private Enemies by unjustifiable Methods. And having sent for *Mitbridates's* Ambassadors, he declared to them, That he would suffer the King their Master to regain *Bythinia* and *Cappadocia*, being Provinces to which the *Romans* had no Right ; but that he would never consent he should set a Foot in *Asia Minor*, which belong'd to the Common-wealth, and which he had renounced by a solemn Treaty. With this Answer he sent those Deputies back ; and it is said, that when *Mitbridates* was told it, turning himself to some of his Courtiers, with great Astonishment, he should say ; *What would not this Roman prescribe to us if he was at Rome, since from the Shores of the Atlantic Sea, whither he is banished, he presumes to mark out Limits to my Empire ?*

Sertorius
enters into
an Alliance
with
Mithri-
dates.

However, that Prince knowing how much it imported him to keep up the Civil War, afterwards concluded the Treaty upon those very Terms *Sertorius* had prescrib'd. The King of *Pontus* supplied him with three hundred Talents, and forty Ships : And *Sertorius* gave the King of *Pontus* a Body of Troops under the Command of *Marius Varius*, one of the Senators proscrib'd by *SYLLA*, and who had taken Sanctuary with him.

That Senator being arriv'd in *Asia*, made the Name and Power of his General respected in all the Places he pass'd through with his Troops. As if he had been authoris'd by the Senate and the *Roman* People, he discharged in their Name most of the Cities from the heavy Load of Taxes that *SYLLA* had laid on them. So moderate and politic a Conduct opened him the Gates of all Places, without striking one Blow ; and the very Name of *Sertorius* made more Conquests, than all the Forces of *Mitbridates*.

But

But this great Captain, who had escaped all the Vell. Pa-
 Dangers of the War, perished by the Treachery terc. l. 2,
 of the *Romans*, even of his own Party. *Perpenna*, App. l. 1,
 who could not forgive him the Authority he had de Bell.
 accepted over his Army, and who flattered himself Civ.
 he should succeed him, if he could get rid of him,
 plotted his Ruin; and drew into his Conspiracy
 several Officers, pretending that *Sertorius* slighted
 the *Romans*, and confided only in the *Spaniards*.
 The Conspirators assassinated him at a Banquet. *Sertorius*
Perpenna then took upon him the Command of the assassinat-
 Army; but he wanted both the Abilities of his ed.
 Predecessor, and the Confidence of his Soldiers, Plut. in
 who abhorred his Treachery. Sert.
 App. de
 Bell. Civ.

Metellus and *Pompey* about that Time had been
 obliged to part, to subsist their Cavalry the easier.
Pompey heard the first of *Sertorius's* Murder, and *Pompey*
 the Disposition of his Army thereupon. He im- defeats the
 mediately drew near *Perpenna's* Camp: Part of Sertori-
 that new General's Soldiers quitted him; the rest, ans.
 when they were attacked, made but a feeble Resist-
 ance. The whole dispersed: *Perpenna*, in this
 general Rout, had nothing left to do, but to run
 away, and hide himself. He was found in a
 Thicket. *Pompey* ordered his Head to be cut off
 instantly, and by his Death ended the *Spanish* War.

POMPEY returned with his victorious Army into *Year of*
Italy. *Spartacus*, a Gladiator, had excited there a Rome,
 very dangerous War. That Gladiator, a Man of 680.
 Courage, got out of *Capua*, where he was a Pri- War with
 soner, with seventy more of his Comrades. He Sparta-
 exhorted them rather to sacrifice their Lives for the cus.
 Defence of their Liberty, than submit tamely to Cæsar
 be a Spectacle for the cruel Diversion of their Ma- Com. l. 1;
 sters. A great Number of run-away Slaves joined Cic. in
 him. Licentiousness, and Hope of Plunder, brought Manil.
 a vast Number of the Rabble to him, from all Flor. l. 3,
 Parts of the Country; so that in a little Time c. 20.
 he found himself at the Head of a considerable Val. Max.
 Army. L. 8, c. 6.
 App. de
 Bell. Civ.
 l. 1.

Army. The Senate, despising *Spartacus*, at first contented themselves with sending *Varinius Glaber* and *P. Valerius*, both Prætors, against him. They even gave them but a small Number of Troops; because they thought it a Shame to send the Legions against the Slaves and Robbers, whom the sole Presence of the Magistrate ought to have dispersed.

Spartacus cuts the Roman Troops to Pieces.
Year of Rome, 681.

Spartacus cut those Troops to Pieces. This Defeat, though by a vastly superior Number, caused a Surprise in the Senate equal to their Indignation. It proving a more serious Affair than they at first imagined, *L. Gellius* and *Cornelius Lentulus*, the Consuls, received Orders to take the Field, each at the Head of a considerable Body of Forces. Those Magistrates, no Ways imagining that an Army of Slaves and Fugitives durst face the Legions, marched heedlessly against Enemies whom they despised. *Spartacus* took Advantage of it. He chose his Camp and the Field of Battle, as well as the ablest General could have done; and he led on his Champions, and animated them to fight with such an undaunted Courage, that the Roman Soldiers, who thought they were sure of Victory, meeting with an unexpected Resistance, quitted their Colours, and ran away. The Consuls got them together again, and they fought a second Battle near *Picenum*, but with the same ill Success. The Romans fled again; and nothing could any Ways palliate so uncommon a Cowardice, but attributing it to a criminal Correspondence with the Enemy. Such great Advantages drew numberless Crowds of People to *Spartacus*; and this Gladiator saw under his Command at one Time, no less than an hundred and twenty thousand Men, Shepherds, Banditti, Slaves, Deserters, all profligate, desperate Fellows, who carried Fire and Sword on all Sides, and who, in this Rebellion, had no other View than an unbridled Licentiousness, and the Impunity of their Crimes. It was now three Years that

Year of Rome, 682.

that this Domestic War had continued in *Italy*, as much to the Shame, as to the Disadvantage of the Common-wealth, when the Senate gave the Conduct thereof to *Licinius Crassus*, one of the greatest Commanders of *SYLLA's* Party, and who had had a great Hand in his Victories. Fortune changed Sides under so able a General. *Crassus* knew how to make War; and he now ^{sent a-} did it with Success. He began with restoring the ^{gainst} Military Discipline in his Army. Every tenth ^{Sparta-} Man of those Legions, that had in a cowardly Manner given Way in the preceding Battles, was put to Death. This wholesome Severity made him equally dreaded by his own Soldiers, and those of the Enemy. The *Romans* well saw, that, under this General, they must either vanquish or die; and ten thousand Men of the Rebels having ventured at some Distance from their main Army, for the Convenience of foraging, he fell upon them unawares, and cut them all to Pieces.

He afterwards, in a pitched Battle, defeated *Spartacus* ^{beat and} their whole Army, and obtained a compleat Vic- ^{killed.} tory. *Spartacus*, with the Rest of his broken Forces, was endeavouring to gain the Sea-side, and to get over into *Sicily*, where a great Number of Slaves made him hope he might retrieve All: But *Crassus* prevented him, cut off his March to the Sea, and invested him in his own Camp. *Spartacus*, despairing of a Retreat, resolved once more to try the Fate of a Battle. He drew up his Army with the Skill of a great Captain; he only wanted a better Cause. It is said, that when they brought him ^{Plat. in} a Horse, a little before the Onset, he drew his ^{Crasso.} Sword, killed him; and, turning to his Soldiers, said, *If I gain the Victory I shall want no Horse; and if we are defeated I do not design to use any.* He then put himself at the Head of his Infantry. His People, animated by the Example of their General,

ral, fought desperately. Victory was a long while
 dubious which Side to chuse; at last, the Valour of
 the Legions decided the Matter. Great was the
 Slaughter made of those Vagabonds: *Spartacus*,
 wounded in the Thigh with a Javelin, defended
 himself yet a long Time, fighting on his Knees,
 holding his Buckler in one Hand, and his Sword
 in the other. At last, pierced with many Wounds,
 he fell upon a Heap of *Romans* he had sacrificed
 to his Fury, and of his own Soldiers, who were
 killed at the Feet of their General, in defending
 him. Those that escaped the Victor's Sword, fled
 into the Mountains, and so rallied again. *Pompey*,
 returning from *Spain*, met with them, and easily
 defeated a Body of Fugitives, without a Leader or
 a Place of Refuge. Yet, to lessen *Crassus's* Glory,
 and increase his own, he was not ashamed to
 write to the Senate, That *Crassus* had indeed de-
 feated *Spartacus*, But I, (said he in his Letter) have
 cut up the Root of that War, and extirminated the
 very last of those Robbers. *Crassus* was highly of-
 fended at a Letter, which, in depriving him of
 the Honour of having ended that War, seemed
 wrote to prepare the People for refusing him the
 Triumph. But, as he aimed at the same Time at
 being chosen Consul, and that *Pompey* was then all
 mighty in *Rome*, he concealed how much he re-
 sented that public Affront, in a profound Silence.
Pompey was called to the Consulship by the Wishes
 of the whole *Roman* People. *Crassus*, apprehend-
 ing that he might get him excluded, intreated
 him by some common Friends, that they might
 act in Concert, and that he would receive him as
 his Colleague in that supreme Dignity. *Pompey*, well
 pleased to have forced him to have Recourse to his
 Interest, professed publicly, that he should be as
 much obliged to his Friends for promoting *Crassus's*
 Election as his own. The two Parties being united,
 carried all the Votes. *Crassus*, who, according to
 SYLLA'S

Liv. Epit.
 l. 91.
 Athen.
 l. 2.
 Eutrop.
 l. 6.
 Cicero in
 Pisonem.

Plut. in
 Crasso.
 Cicero pro
 lege Ma-
 nil.

Crassus
and Pom-
pey
Friends.

Year of
 Rome,
 683.

SYLLA's Laws, had been Prætor before, was chosen Consul; and the same Dignity was conferr'd on *Pompey* *Pompey*, though he was no more than a Knight; *and* had not been so much as Quæstor; and scarce was *Crassus* *Crassus* thirty-four Years Old. But his great Reputation, and the Splendor of his Victories, hid these Irregularities: It was thought that a Citizen, who had been honour'd with a Triumph before the Age of four and twenty, and before he took Place in the Senate, ought not to be subject to the common Rules.

This was not the sole Occasion, wherein the Esteem or Complaisance of his Fellow-Citizens, and sometimes his own Ambition, placed him above the Laws. It was a Custom in the Commonwealth, that a victorious General that demanded a Triumph, was not to enter the City before he had obtain'd it. By the same Law, every Citizen that pretended to the Consulship, was obliged to be there personally to solicit the Dignity he aspired to. It look'd as if *Pompey* and *Crassus* had laid aside their Pretensions to a Triumph, since they had both entered *Rome* to solicit the Consulship. But great was the Surprize of the *Romans* to find, that after their Election they still claimed it, as if they had remained at the Head of their Armies. Till then they had acted in *Hatred* Concert; but as the Affair of the Triumph was *between* liable to Difficulties, and that they were called *Crassus* upon to disband their Armies, which were at the *and* *Pompey*. Gates of *Rome*, *Crassus*, who had less Regard for *Pompey*, since he was chosen Consul, represented that since *Pompey* had first terminated the *Spanish* War, he ought also first to disband his Army. *Pompey*, on the other Hand, incens'd at *Crassus* for maintaining that he ought to break his Army first, refused to comply, on Pretence, that he waited for *Metellus*, who was to triumph with him. These
opposite

opposite Pretensions made their Hatred break out. *Pompey* could not bear that *Crassus*, whom he deem'd a much inferior Commander to himself, and who had even obtained the Consulate through His Influence only, should dare to enter into Competition with him; and *Crassus*, the richest Man in the Republic, reckoned his Treasures for Victories, and could not brook to give Way to a Man, whose Coffers were not so full as his own. Through these Pretensions the Public easily saw, that those two Men, equally ambitious and powerful, had a Mind to keep their Armies on Foot, less to adorn their Triumph, an empty Ceremony, than to maintain the more Power and Authority against each other. The Senate and the People fearing to fall again into the Calamities of a Civil-war, besought them to sacrifice their private Resentments to the public Peace. The People went even so far on a Day of Assembly, as to beg of them on their Knees, that they would be reconciled. *Pompey* affected an inflexible Pride, and to the last seem'd unmoveable: *Crassus*, on his Part, shew'd no less Stiffness. But the Aruspices having declared, that the Senate was threatned with the most dreadful Calamities, unless the Consuls agreed; *Crassus*, moved with Sentiments of Piety, arose first, and presented his Hand to *Pompey*, who afterwards embraced him; and when both had triumph'd, they disbanded their Troops by Consent.

Plut. in
Crass.
Reconci-
liation
between
Pompey
and
Crassus.

This Reconciliation was not so sincere, but that each endeavoured to strengthen himself, by increasing his Party. It imported them above all Things to gain the People. *Crassus*, to win their Affections, prepared an Entertainment on a thousand Tables, whereat he treated the whole City. He at the same Time distributed Corn enough to all the Populace to maintain their Families Three whole Months. The Surprize at such prodigious Liberalities

Crassus's
Profusion

Liberalities will be less, if it be considered, that *Crassus's* Estate amounted to more than * seven thousand Talents. And it was by such like public Expences, that the great Men of *Rome* used to purchase the Votes of the People. POMPEY, on the other Hand, to out-do *Crassus*, and to bring the Tribunes of the People into his Interests, procured such Laws to pass; as restored to those Magistrates all the Authority they had been depriv'd of by SYLLA. Without any Regard to the Memory of his General and Benefactor, he reviv'd the Ordinances of *C. Gracchus*, which referr'd to the Knights the Judgment of criminal Causes, which SYLLA had referr'd to the Senate. Thus those ambitious Men, in their Turns, play'd with the Laws, and sometimes enlarg'd the Authority of the Senate, and sometimes that of the People, according as it best suited with their private Interest. It is impossible to express the Transports of Joy the Tribunes shew'd at the Recovery of their former Authority. As they chiefly ow'd it to POMPEY, they carri'd not long before they shew'd their Gratitude. The War had been decreed against the Pyrates that infested the Coasts of the Common-wealth. They conferr'd the Management of it on POMPEY, and granted him an absolute Authority by Sea and Land, either to raise Men, or to equip Ships of War.

These Pyrates came originally from the Coasts of *Cilicia*. At first they armed but a few small Barks and Brigantines, which infested the Seas, and took both Merchants and Passengers, whom they made Slaves. Their Number and Boldness increased upon their being protected by *Mithridates*, who took them into his Service, whilst he made War against the *Romans*. They fitted out great Ships, formed very large Fleets, and extended their Cruising all along the Coasts of *Italy*:

* 122 Millions, 500000 *Livres*.

They

They even made some Descents; pillag'd the richest and most famous Temples; ruin'd the small Towns, and carried their Inhabitants into Slavery. In short, their Power increas'd to such a Height, that they had above a thousand Ships, divided into several Squadrons, which kept all the Ports of the Common-wealth block'd up; so that scarce any Vessel ventur'd out, without being taken; which ruin'd Trade entirely.

Pompey
sent
against
Pirates.
Year of
Rome,
686.

Plut. in
Pompeio.

The Senate
jealous.

It was against these Pyrates that POMPEY was sent. To put him in a Condition to make a suitable Armament, the People, whose Idol he was, decreed him a Power without Restriction. His Commission run in exprefs Terms, that his Authority should extend all over the *Mediterranean*, quite to *Hercules's* Pillars, and as far as four hundred *Stadia* into the Land: That he should raise as many Soldiers and Sailors as he thought fit: That he should take whatever Sums he pleas'd out of the public Treasury, without being accountable for them, and chuse out of the whole Senate fifteen Senators to be his Lieutenants and execute his Orders where he could not be present himself; So absolute an Authority trusted to one single Citizen, gave a great deal of Uneasiness, and even Jealousy, to the Senate. Several of that Body openly accused POMPEY, that he design'd to engross the whole Sovereignty of the State to himself; and one of the Consuls, provok'd that this Commission had been given him to the lessening of his Prerogative, told him in a Sort of threatening Tone, *That by affecting, as he did, to imitate the haughty Behaviour of Romulus, he might perhaps meet with his Fate.*

Catulus, more moderate, took a wiser Method; and in order to dissuade the People from granting so vast a Power to one single Citizen, he began in one of the Assemblies with a Panegyric upon POMPEY,

POMPEY, and mentioned the most celebrated Actions of that General in the most magnificent Terms. But, as if he had been concerned for his Safety, he was sorry the People should expose the greatest General of the Common-wealth to every Danger that happened: *And if you should loose him.* (said he to the People) *What other could you put in his Room?* At which the Multitude, raising their Voices, cried out, one and all, *We will put You.* *Catulus*, no Cic. pro lege Manilia. Plut. in Pomp. Vel. l. 2. longer able to resist the firm Resolution of the whole People, and pleased at the same Time with the honourable Testimony they bore to his own Courage, retired. Another Senator, called *Roscius*, endeavouring to speak after him, was prevented by the Clamours of the People, who would not then hear any Remonstrances on that Head. *Roscius* was reduced to explain himself by Signs; and holding up two of his Fingers, he tried to make them apprehend, that they ought at least to give *Pompey* a Colleague; but all his Endeavours were to no Purpose. The People, even grown angry at the Jealousy and Resistance of the Senate, enlarged *Pompey's* Power still more; and it was added to his Commission, that he should be at Liberty to arm five hundred Ships, put an hundred and twenty thousand Soldiers on Board of them for Descents, and be attended by four and twenty Senators and two Quæstors.

Thus it was, that this People, so jealous of their Liberty, seduced by their Tribunes, were hastening into Slavery; and it lay wholly in *Pompey's* Power to make himself sole Sovereign of the Common-wealth. But those that rightly knew him, judged they had nothing to fear from a Man, who had more Vanity than Ambition, and who was more sensible of the great Name that so honourable a Post gave him, than mindful how to make it lasting and independent of those who

conferred it upon him. This War lasted but one Campaign. *Pompey*, having fitted out a large Fleet, defeated that of the Pyrates. He took vast Numbers of those Robbers: But, instead of putting them to Death, he banished them to remote inland-places, as far distant as possible from the Seashore. By which Method, as he enabled them to get a Livelihood without Piracy, so he prevented them most surely, from ever returning to their Piracy.

The End of the Eleventh Book.



BOOK

B O O K XII.

POMPEY goes into Asia, to put himself at the Head of the Forces commanded by Lucullus. The Interview of these two Romans. The Reproaches they make each other. They part declared Enemies. The Particulars of Catiline's Conspiracy. The ambitious Designs of the Tribune, P. Servilius Rullus. Cicero, by his Skill and Oratory, gets the Law rejected, which Rullus proposed concerning the conquered Lands, and wholly defeats Catiline's Party.

NO sooner did the News of the Pyrates being overcome reach Rome, but Manilius, Tribune of the People, though a Creature of POMPEY, in order to perpetuate his Authority, proposed a new Decree, for conferring the Command of the Army against Mithridates upon POMPEY, although L. Lucullus, an excellent Commander, was actually invested with that Employment, and had gained a great Reputation in it. This Decree expressed not only that POMPEY should take upon him the Command of his Army, and the Government of Asia, but, besides, retain his Superintendency over that whole Naval Power, with which he just then had subdued the Pyrates.

This was delivering all the Sea and Land Forces of the State into his Hands: He now only wanted the Title of King. Manilius and POMPEY's Adherents pressed the publishing of this Decree very much. The People, ever blind, and the Tool of

Plut. in Pompeio

The Lex Manilia. in Favour of the People.

the Great, were as solicitous for it, as if their All had been at Stake. The Senate, more clear-sighted, looked on that Decree as the establishing of Tyranny. Yet, when the Day was come, and that *Manilius* proposed to the Assembly to recall *Lucullus*, and send POMPEY in his Room, Nobody offered to stir against it: The Fear of so powerful a Man's Resentment, restrained almost all the Senators. *Cicero* himself, who was universally acknowledged a good Citizen and Patriot, but always fearful, and unsettled in his Resolutions, declared for the strongest Side; and made for the Decree that Discourse, which is preserved under the Title of *Pro Lege Maniliâ*. There was none in so large and numerous a Body, but *Hortensius* and *Catulus*, that opposed it. *Catulus*, with a great deal of Courage, reproached the People with the Injustice they were going to do *Lucullus*: He recounted his Services, and the great Actions he had performed during the Course of that War. He told them how, by a glorious Victory, he had relieved the Town of *Cizicum*, when besieged by Sea and Land; how he had defeated *Mithridates* in several Battles, and vanquished *Tigranes*, the most potent King of *Asia*. But, perceiving that the People grew uneasy at his Discourse, he turned himself towards the Senate, and raising his Voice, with a Mein full of Indignation; *Let us retire*, said he, *Conscript Fathers, from a City where Tyranny is going to be settled; and let us go seek some Desert, where we may preserve that Liberty which we received from our Fathers.*

Plut. in
Pomp.

Pompey
named to
be General
against
Mithri-
dates.

This generous Discourse made no Manner of Impression upon People, who had either sold their Faith to POMPEY, or who feared his Power and Resentment. Thus was the public Interest, as it always falls out, sacrificed to private Views. The Decree was confirmed by all the Tribes; and the People, of their own Accord, conferred on POM-

PEY

PEY as extensive an Authority as SYLLA had usurped by an armed Force, and exercised afterwards during his Dictatorship.

POMPEY set out immediately for *Asia*: And *Lu-* Interview between Pompey and Lucullus.
cullus, hearing of the Decree, quitted his Army, that he might not be obliged to surrender it himself to his Adversary. These two Generals met in the Province of *Galatia*. Their Officers, and such as were Friends to both, persuaded them to see each other: They at first treated one another with all imaginable Civility; but, at last, *Lucullus*, full of Indignation against POMPEY, who had robbed him of his Employment, could not forbear showing his Resentment. He reproached him, That Vel. Pat. l. 2, c. 33. Plut. in Lucullo. he had never coveted to command Armies, but against Enemies already vanquished; and that, like those vile Birds of Prey that feed on none but dead Bodies and Carrion, it was his Custom to come at the End of every War, to make his Advantage of Battles fought, and Victories gained by other Generals. That it was known to all the World, that he endeavoured to rob *Metellus*, *Crassus*, and *Catulus*, of the Glory of their Victories over the *Spaniards*, Gladiators, and Mutineers, who followed the Party of *Lepidus*; and, that he knew, without exposing himself to any Danger, how to make the Advantages obtained by other People, his own: And have I now, added *Lucullus*, vanquished *Mithridates*, conquered the Kingdom of *Pontus*, defeated *Tigranes*, obtained considerable Victories, and taken *Tigranocerta*, *Nisibe*, and so many other Cities in *Armenia*, only to procure You fresh Triumphs?

POMPEY, provoked at so injurious a Speech, reproached him on his Part, That he had less conquered than ravaged *Asia*, whose Riches he had secured in his own Coffers: That he made War for nothing but the Sake of Plunder: That he had indeed obtained some Advantages; but that he

never cared to compleat a Victory; and usually left to his Enemy, wherewithal to continue the War, that he might likewise be continued in the Command, and pillage on to a Degree odious to his very Soldiers.

Vell. Pat.
l. 2. c. 33.

These mutual Reproaches were not groundless; and if it was true, that *Lucullus* had tarnished the Splendor of his Victories by that insatiable Desire of accumulating Riches upon Riches; that Jealousy, which POMPEY showed against all the Commanders of the Common-wealth, and the Springs he set at Work to deprive them of their Posts, even during the Course of their Victories, rendered him much suspected to all true Republicans. It looked as if he would be the only General of the State, and that all others became odious to him, in Proportion to the Glory and Esteem they acquired. These two Generals parted declared Enemies: POMPEY went on to take the Command of the Army upon him; and *Lucullus* returned to *Rome*, where, notwithstanding all the ill Offices and Opposition of POMPEY and his Party, he was honoured with a solemn Triumph. He found that City, then the Capital of the World, in a seeming Peace: But that outward Tranquility was but a Cover to a secret Agitation; and there were new Parties privately forming; all which, though by different Methods, aimed at nothing less than to supplant each other, and become Masters of the Government.

Salust. in
Cat.
Plut. in
Cic.
Catiline's
Charac-
ter.

Lucius Sergius Catiline, whom we have mentioned above, was at the Head of one of the Parties. He was descended of an illustrious *Patrician* Family, and so ancient, that he bragged it sprung from *Sergestus*, one of *Aeneas's* Companions: A Folly common to most great People, who, by reason of some Resemblance in the Names, fancy they find the Origin of their Families in the Ruins of Antiquity, and often in mere Fables.

Catiline,

Catiline, educated in the Hurry and Confusion of the Civil-wars, had been the Minister of the Cruelties of *Sylla*, to whom he had devoted himself. The Favour of that Dictator, his Birth and Courage, had raised him to the principal Dignities of the Common-wealth: He had been Quæstor, Lieutenant-General in several Armies, and had since commanded in Chief, as Prætor in *Africa*. But in all these different Employments, he had equally dishonoured himself by his Debauches and horrible Crimes. He had been already publicly accused of Incest, with one of the Vestal Virgins; of Assassination and Extortion; and he escaped the Punishment of the Laws no other Way, than by his Art of bribing his Accusers, with whom by Dint of Money he prevail'd to drop the Prosecution. He was a Man without Morals, Probity, or Respect for the Gods; Ambition was his sole Deity: Not satisfied with the present, always anxious for the future; bold, heady, audacious, daring to undertake any Thing, but not very capable; aiming at Tyranny too openly, and incapable of that deep Diffimulation, which was necessary to cover his execrable Designs. This was the Picture of *Lucius Catiline*, who, after *Sylla's* Death, formed a Scheme of usurping the Sovereign Power, as He had done. To succeed herein, he began to keep Company with, and to court all the young Men in *Rome*, who had either wasted their Fortunes by Gaming, or their Bodies by Debauchery with Wine and Women.

Rome, in its Beginning, had found no surer *Rome* Guard for public Liberty, nor Fence against Ambition, than an almost equal Poverty among all her Citizens. Temperance and Frugality, the Consequences of that Poverty, reign'd in all Conditions, perhaps as much out of Necessity, as out of Choice. *Luxury* was a long while a Stranger there. Iron was more valued than Gold; and

each Citizen, content with his small Patrimony, which he manur'd with his own Hands, endeavoured no other Ways to distinguish himself, than by his Courage. As they had no Expectations from any Body, each getting his Subsistence by his own Labour, there was neither a mean Complaisance, nor slavish Dependance to be found amongst 'em. Love of Liberty was their universal Motive; and as long as *Rome* held the Poverty of each Citizen for a Virtue, her Citizens remained free, subject to the Laws only, and independant upon each other.

But after the *Romans* had destroy'd *Carthage*, the Rival of *Rome*, subdued *Italy*, and the adjacent Isles, conquered *Spain* and the Coasts of *Africa*, reduced Part of *Gaul*, and all *Syria*, into Provinces; after they had forced most of the Sovereigns of *Asia* to pay them Tribute; then Ambition, Luxury, Effeminacy, and all those Vices that seem inseparable from Wealth, entered *Rome* in the Train of the Conquerors of those Countries: Those that had lived before with Honour in a laudable Poverty, could not stand it in Plenty. They began to look with Admiration on a Picture drawn by a great Master; and the like on a fine Statue, or a carv'd Vase. Soon was the good Fortune of those Generals and Officers envied, who had brought such from *Asia*; and it was to get Possession of these, and to grow rich, that they began to barter their Liberty, and to sell it to such great Men, and Heads of Parties, as they could expect either Employments or Money from.

The austere Manners and Frugality of the ancient Times, were by Degrees changed into an exquisite Voluptuousness. Most of the Youth consumed the Patrimony of their Ancestors in Feasts and Entertainments, where Delicacy, Extravagance, and Profusion reign'd. The Women had their Share in this almost universal Corruption: Few now counted

counted Modesty among the Female-Virtues. Some Men, unworthy of that Name, prostituted themselves like Women; and those that had ruined themselves to answer such extraordinary Expences, or were in danger of being prosecuted for Crimes, wish'd for a Civil-war, that might shelter them from the Rigor of the Laws, or their troublesome Creditors. This strange Turn of Mind in the *Romans*, began to show itself towards the End of the Consulship of *L. Volcatius Tullus*, and *M. Emilius Lepidus*.^{687.} The People had designed for their Successors, *Publ. Autronius*, and *P. SYLLA*. But having afterwards been convicted of Bribery, they were excluded from that Office; and by a new Election, *Lucius Cotta*, and *L. Torquatus* were substituted in their Room. The Shame of this Exclusion, and a Spirit of Revenge, urged them on to conspire against the Tranquility of the State. They resolved to assassinate the two new Consuls, murder the greatest Part of the Senate, and seize the Government. *Catiline*, always ready for the greatest Crimes, and greedy of all Novelties that could make him hope for a Change in his Fortune, entered into this Plot. Besides him, they engaged in it a great Number of those young Men, undone by their Excesses mentioned above: Among the rest, *Piso*, a Youth of a noble Family, but rash, factious, over-loaded with Debts, and who had no Prospect of retrieving his Affairs, but in the Subversion of the State.

Their Design was, as we have said, to kill both the Consuls, and the greatest Number of Senators. They were to put this in Execution in the Capitol, on the First Day of *January*, when the Consuls took Possession of their Office. But not having found a convenient Opportunity on that Day, they put it off till the Fifth of *February*, at which Time was to be seen the most execrable Attempt that ever had happened in the Common-wealth,
since

Sallust.

since the Foundation of Rome A Band of Profligates were, upon a Signal to be given by CATILINE, to fall on the Consuls and the Senators, and stab them. But CATILINE, impatient and over-hasty to spill the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens, having given the Signal too soon, and before all the Conspirators had conveniently placed themselves according to the Direction, Nobody offered to stir: So that this cruel Business was put off once more. *Catiline*, by his Boldness, made himself the Head of the Plot, and strengthened his Party with a great Number of Senators and Knights, who all from different Motives joined in the Conspiracy.

Among his Adherents in the Senate, were counted *Lentulus Sura*, *P. Autronius*, mentioned above, *Cassius Longinus*, *Caius Cethegus*, both the Sons of *Servius Sylla*, *Lucius Vargunteius*, *Quintus Annius*, *Porcius Lecca*, *Lucius Curius*, *L. Bestia*, and *Q. Curius*; and of the Knights, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *Lucius Statilius*, *P. Gabinus Capito*, and *G. Cornelius*. It is affirmed, that *Crassus* partly knew their Designs, and that, always jealous, and an Enemy of *Pompey's* Glory, he was not sorry that another Party was arising in the Common-wealth, which should counterbalance His Authority. Some People did even suspect *Cæsar* of favouring the Plot under-hand; and they add, that those two cunning and equally ambitious Men waited for the Event, before they would declare themselves.

Character
of *Lentulus*.

Lentulus, one of the Heads of this Party, was Son to *Manius Aquilius*, who had been Consul with *Marius*: He bore the Name of *Lentulus*, because he had been adopted by another *Lentulus* of the noble Family of the *Cornelians*. He was a Man plunged in all Manner of Debauchery, naturally shameless, and who openly bragged of his Vices. He had the Surname of *Sura* given him; (which means the *Calf of the Leg*) because *Sylla*, the

the Dictator, having one Day in an open Senate demanded he should give an Account of the Monies which he had unfaithfully managed during his Quæstorship, *Lentulus*, who had spent them in his Riots, answered him, That he had kept no other Book of Accounts besides the Calf of his Leg, which he held out to be struck; alluding to a Custom of those Days among Boys playing at Tennis; when he that had missed hitting the Ball, received a Blow upon his Leg. History has preserved to us another Instance of his Impudence, which shews his depraved Temper and Character still plainer. He had been summoned before the Magistrates, to answer to some Crimes that he was charged with. He bribed the Judges with large Sums of Money; and finding that, when Judgment was given, he had carried it by one Vote more than was necessary to come off, he was not ashamed to say aloud to them, *That one of the Judges ought to return him his Money, since one Vote had been of no Use to him.*

Such was *P. Lentulus*, whom his Excesses, Impunity and Ambition, drew into this Conspiracy. He had suffered himself to be amused with a strange Sort of Prophecy, ascribed to the *Sibylls*, and which they said, promised the Empire of *Rome* to three of the *Cornelians*. *Sylla* and *Cinna*, both of that illustrious House, though of different Parties, had one after the other enjoyed the Sovereign Power: And *Lentulus* was not displeased, that his Flatterers applied the *Sibylline* Prophecy to him, and took him for the third of that Name, who was to reign in *Rome*.

Cethegus, of the same Party, was a bold audacious Man, to be feared because of the Sway he bore among the common People. He had been some Time before Tribune of the People, whom he governed at his own Pleasure: But he was himself governed by a Courtezan, called *Præcia*, who

*Character
of Cethegus.*

during his Tribunate, disposed arbitrarily of all Things in the Common-wealth.

Besides the Senators we have mentioned, there was a great Number of Knights that had engaged in the Plot. CATILINE drew in, by his Management, even some veteran Soldiers and Officers of *Sylla*, who, after having consumed in whoring, gaming and drinking, all the Rewards of their former Services, were longing for a new Civil-war, which they looked on as the only Remedy for their Want and Misery.

*Character
of Sem-
pronia.*

Some Women of the best Families in *Rome*, as much noted for their Lewdness as their Beauty, entered into the Conspiracy out of Complaisance to their Lovers. Such was the famous *Sempronia*. Nature had bestowed on her not only a high Birth, but a lively and engaging Wit, a firm and undaunted Courage, and, what Women value more than all, an incomparable Beauty.

These natural Endowments were set off by an outward Appearance of Modesty, which she sometimes affected to put on, according to the Character of those she had a mind to please. But her Looks, which then seemed to escape modest Eyes, were always guided by violent Passions, she always courting the Men more than they her. The Pravity of her Morals made her fall by Degrees into the greatest Crimes. She was suspected of being an Accomplice in several base Murders; and she was known to have denied, in a Court of Judicature, the Receipt of Pledges with more Confidence and Boldness, than the Owners demanded the Restitution of them.

Other Women, as disorderly and as well born as *Sempronia*, but not so young, nor so beautiful, had a Hand in the Plot, in Hopes to see all those Debts acquitted; which they had contracted in an advanced Age, to supply the Wants of their young Gallants. CATILINE drew them over to his Party,
by

by procuring them such Men as they liked best, with a Design either to gain over their Husbands to his Party, or by their Means to get rid of them.

In short, all the *Roman* Youth that had been bred in Luxury, and were grown effeminate with nice living; all that were ruin'd and could no longer follow their extravagant Courses; all that were ambitious and aspiring to the chief Posts in the Government; others, who had not of themselves Power enough to be revenged on their too potent Enemies; all these People, animated with different Passions, join'd and favoured *Catiline*.

*Catiline's
Creatures
described.*

This Chief of the Party, to tie them the stronger, promises some to discharge their Debts; he actually gives Money to others; to some he procures the Women they were in Love with; the Revengeful he flatters with a Prospect of seeing their Enemies proscribed; and he amuses All with the Estates and Honours they should obtain in a new Revolution. But at the same Time he represents to them, that they must set all their Industry to work to get Him chosen Consul; that it would be no less advantageous to the Party to procure *Caius Antonius* to be his Colleague, who was one of the Candidates, and with whom he had of old lived in good Amity; that afterwards he might let him into the Secret; and that if once they were both invested with the Sovereign Magistracy, and at the Head of the Legions, there could never be a Power sufficient to oppose the Execution of their Designs.

It's true, they could never have chose a fitter Time. POMPEY was then making War in the farthest Parts of the *East*. That General, carried on by the Desire of filling the whole Earth with the Glory of his Name, was pursuing the *Arabians*, whom it was easier to defeat, than to meet with.

There was no Army in *Italy*. The People, always greedy of new Things, saw with Pleasure the Rise of a Party, which seem'd to threaten nothing but the Authority of the Senate : And this very Senate composed of so many wise Heads, slept secure, falsely imagining that the Leaders of that Party did not deserve their Attention.

*The Con-
spiracy dis-
cover'd.*

However, as it was very difficult that the Designs of such Men, as were continually rioting, should long remain a Secret, *Cicero* heard of it first by *Fulvia*, a Woman of a noble Family, which however she dishonoured by her Criminal Intrigues with *Quintus Curius*, one of the Heads of the Conspiracy.

Curius had ruined himself in keeping her Company ; and he continued in Favour, as long as she found her Account in it. But as soon as his Stock began to grow low, Indifference and Coldness took Place of that interested and mercenary Love : And *Fulvia* despised him, as soon as she ceased to be a Gainer by him.

Curius, desiring to enjoy former Favours, is rebuked and denied : Thinking at first, that a Rival had supplanted him, he storms and threatens : Afterwards he stoops to the lowest and meanest Submissions ; at last he discovers, with much Shame, that he owed all *Fulvia's* Favours to his Money. As he could neither supply her with more, nor free himself from her Chains, he endeavours to please her at least with fair Hopes. He discovers the whole Plot to her, and opens her a Scene of new Treasures in the Success of his well-laid Designs.

But whether *Fulvia*, like all Women of that Stamp, valued the Promises of a ruined Lover but little ; or whether she entertained a very ill Opinion of an Undertaking managed by young People ; she made a Discovery of all she had heard to some Men of Distinction, yet without naming her Author ;

Author: And this she did, that she might not find herself involved in a Matter of Treason. It immediately spread all over *Rome*. *Cicero*, who was very intent on all Things relating to the Public, traced these Reports up to the very Head. He saw *Fulvia*, gain'd her, and she sold him the Secret of a Man whom she never lov'd, and whom she was afterwards civil to for no other Reason, than that she might draw more Secrets from him, as she had promised *Cicero* she would.

Besides the general Interest of his Country, *Ci- Cicero*
cero had a private End to serve in this nice Enquiry. *Consul.*
 The Time of chusing Consuls was near: He was one of the Candidates himself: CATILINE was one of those that put up for it. That Man, who was of an illustrious Family, never spoke of That of *Cicero* but with the utmost Contempt. He commonly called him an Upstart, a New Man, that is, one whose Father nor Ancestors had ever bore any of those Magistracies which enobled their Posterity. *Cicero*, on the other Hand, neglected nothing that could render CATILINE odious, and even suspected of Designs against the public Liberty. Nothing was fitter to prepossess the People against that *Patrician*, than the Discovery of his ill Designs. *Cicero* succeeded in it; and CATILINE contributed himself towards it, by his rough and fierce Behaviour, and by dropping Threats at a Time when it should have been his Study how to gain the Friendship and Esteem of his Fellow-Citizens. All those that truly loved their Country, united to make him lose his Election. *Catiline* was *Year of*
 excluded with Scorn and Indignation, and that *Rome,*
 high Office was conferred on *Cicero*. *690.*

Caius Antonius was appointed his Colleague, of a *Plebeian*, but a very noted Family, deriving its Pedigree from a Son of *Hercules*. *Antonius* was a Man naturally lazy, a Lover of Ease and Pleasure, and who hitherto had no further concerned himself

himself in Affairs of Government, than was necessary to show that he was not absolutely unfit for them. The only Reason why they fix'd upon him for *Cicero's* Colleague, was, that the *Romans* were convinc'd, that a Man of that Character would, without any Reluctance, follow *Cicero's* Advice, and concur in every Thing that should be thought necessary by that great Man to dissipate *Catiline's* Faction. The Friends and Creatures of that Ringleader, who thought themselves sure of his Election, were quite confounded when they saw *Cicero* chosen. They dreaded him on Account of that powerful Eloquence, with which he carry'd all before him in the Assemblies; and they knew, that he was not less valued on Account of his Probity, and his unmoveable Attachment to the Laws. The Dread of feeling the Rigor thereof themselves, under so clear-sighted and severe a Magistrate, made several of those factious People abandon the Party and Interest of *Catiline*. But this Defection made no Alteration in that Desperado, who was determin'd to perish, if he could not reign. He got some new Associates in their stead, and borrow'd on all Sides. By his Order, Arms and Provisions were laid up in several Places; and he sent *C. Manlius* into *Tuscany*, *Septimius* into the *Mark* of *Ancona*, and *C. Julius* into *Apulia*, there to raise Men underhand, and endeavour to secure to his Interest such Officers and Veteran Soldiers, settled in those Provinces, as had serv'd with him under *Sylla*. Whilst so dangerous a Man was increasing the Number of his Creatures with all possible Diligence and Application, and was getting together Arms and Troops to enable himself to seize upon the Government with an arm'd Force, a Tribune of the People was forming a like Design, but under more specious Colours: His Name was *Publius Servilius Rullus*. This Tribune was the more to be fear'd, as he employ'd

Catiline's
Conduct.

Agrarian
Schemes of
the Tri-
bune
Rullus.

employed no other Methods than Persuasion; and seemed to have nothing else in View, than to render the Condition of the Common People happier than it was.

It may have been observed more than once in this Work, That whenever the *Romans* had vanquished their Enemies, they were wont to take Part of their Lands from them; that those Lands were sometimes farmed out, to increase the Revenue of the State; and that they were also often divided and shared out among the poorer Citizens, who paid the Common-wealth but an easy Rent for them. This public Domain increased with the Fortune of the Common-wealth, and the Spoils of so many States which the *Romans* had conquered in the three Parts of the World. *Rome* was in Possession of Lands in the several Cantons of *Italy*, in *Sicily* and the adjacent Isles, in *Spain*, in *Africa*, in *Greece*, in *Macedonia*, and all over *Asia*. In a Word, they had incorporated into the Public Domain, the peculiar Domains of as many free Cities, Kingdoms and Common-wealths, as the *Romans* had conquered and subdued. The Produce and Income of them was carried into the *Roman* Treasury. That was the fund out of which the Armies were subsisted, and all public Expences answered and discharged.

RULLUS, being raised to the Tribuneship, undertook to have the sole Disposal of all those Lands to himself. He brought over into his Scheme most of his Colleagues, and several Senators of the first Rank, whom, from the Success of his Project, he made to hope for immense Riches, and an absolute Authority: Two Motives that are generally prevalent with most Men, and are commonly the Rule of their Conduct.

RULLUS, having formed his Party, prepared the Plan of a new Law, importing, That for the Relief of the Common People, there should

be *Decemvirs* chosen out of hand, who should have Power to sell all those private Domains which had been incorporated into the Domain of the Common-wealth, since the Consulate of *L. Sylla* and *Q. Pompeius*: That they should likewise sell all the Forests in *Italy*: That the Generals of Armies, and other Officers of the Common-wealth, who should have any Monies in their Hands that had not yet been paid into the Treasury, should be legally discharged, by paying those Sums to the *Decemvirs*; and that those Commissioners should employ all those Sums in the buying up the different Estates, situate in *Italy*, which should afterwards be shared out among the Common People; so that without dispossessing any of the Nobility of their ancient Ulurpations, each poor Citizen should have a small Estate in his own Native Country to subsist on.

RULLUS to gain the Multitude also over to his Side in Behalf of this Law, added, That the *Decemvirs* should have Power to settle new Colonies in such Towns of *Italy*, as they should think proper; that they should have Leave to re-people *Capua*, to conduct thither five thousand Inhabitants from *Rome*, of which each *Decemvir* should name five hundred at his own Pleasure; and that between them should be shared the Territory of that City, and of *Stella*, which hitherto had been let out to Farm for the Benefit of the Public.

It was enacted by the same Law, That the Proposer of the Law should of Right preside at the Assembly held for the Choice of the *Decemvirs*: By which Article, *RULLUS* reserved to himself the chief Direction and Authority in this whole Affair. He added, That the Power of these Commissioners should be uncontrollable, and Nobody should have Liberty of appealing from their Ordinances to any other Power; and that they should be invested with this Authority in *Rome*, and all over the

the

the *Roman* Empire, for the Space of five Years; that they should have the Right of taking the *Auspices*; and have *Lictors*, and such other Officers as used to attend the chief Magistrates of the Common-wealth; that they should have Power to chuse two hundred of the *Equestrian* Order, to put their Decrees in Execution in the several Provinces. *Rullus*, under Pretence of avoiding the Confusion and Tumults, which commonly happened in the General Assemblies of the whole *Roman* People, but in effect to make himself Master of the Election of the *Decemvirs*, proposed, That they should not be chosen by any more than by seventeen Tribes, which should be drawn by Lot; and that it should be sufficient to have the Votes of nine Tribes, to be declared duly elected: And, to exclude *Pompey*, whose Interest he stood much in fear of, from that Dignity, and who was then commanding Armies in the remotest Parts of *Asia*, he added, That no Citizen, absent from *Rome*, should stand Candidate for the *Decemvirate*.

How much soever this extensive Power ought *Rullus*,
to have been suspected in a Common-wealth, yet *Success*.
did *Rullus* see a vast Number of Senators, and the whole People without Exception, for his Project. The first, urged on by their Ambition, hoped to be chosen *Decemvirs*; and the Common People flattered themselves they should have a Share in those Lands that were to be bought in *Italy*. *Rullus* soon saw himself at the Head of a considerable Party; and the Consul *Antonius* himself, the Colleague of *Cicero*, did not dislike these Novel-
ties.

It was said, that, being loaded with Debts, he looked on the Place of a *Decemvir*, and the extraordinary Power annexed to it, as an infallible Means to repair his Fortune; because of the vast Sums of Money that should go through his Hands, and that he should have the disposing of: Many

even suspected him of secretly favouring *Catiline's* Faction.

Plut. in
Cic. D. H.
l. 37.
Cic. in
Sextiana,
Mureni-
ana. &
Pisoniana.
Sallust.

As the Authority which he had by his Consul-
ate was of great Weight, *Cicero* undertook to
bring him off. Interest was the only Way to suc-
ceed in it: That Consideration made him resign to
Antony the Government of *Macedonia*, with the
Command of the Army, which by Lot was fallen
to himself. He contented himself with the Go-
vernment of *Cisalpine Gaul*, which brought in a less
Income.

*The Me-
thod
which the
Consuls
observed
in the Go-
vernment
of the
Common-
wealth.*

It is universally known, that the Consuls, after
their Election, were wont to divide betwixt them
the whole Administration of the Common-wealth:
That one of those sovereign Magistrates commonly
stayed at *Rome*, and at the Head of the Senate, to
preside therein; and that he hardly ever went out
of the City, unless some very important War forced
both the Consuls to put themselves at the Head
of Armies, and to take the Field. He that took
upon him the Command of the Force, had at the
same Time the Government of the Provinces bor-
dering on that where the Forces were, and the two
Consuls generally determined the Choice of these
two different Employments by Lot.

The Consul, entring upon the Provinces of the
Empire, received there the same Honours which
every where else were only paid to the Sovereigns
of the Country. During his Consul-ate, he enjoyed
an absolute Authority; and unless he was of an un-
common Probity, he seldom returned home with-
out being loaded with immense Riches. *Antonius*,
whose indifferent Circumstances required such an
Help, accepted of his Colleague's Proffer with
Joy; and from a Principle of Gratitude, quitted
that Party which before he seemed to favour; fol-
lowing the Dictates of *Cicero's* wife Counsels, and
resolving to join with him in all his Measures for
the Good of his Country.

Cicero, now sure of his Colleague, turned all his Thoughts against *Rullus*. As he was not yet acquainted with the Bottom of that Tribune's Intentions, that he might penetrate into them, he got some of their common Friends to remonstrate to him, that being both invested with two several Dignities in the same Year, it was for the Interest of the Common-wealth, that they should act jointly, and with Unanimity; that he should ever find him disposed to favour any Thing tending to the Advantage of the People; and that he desired him to impart to him the Plan of a Law, which the World reported he was to propose to the End that if it appeared just to him, he might back it with all his Credit. But *Rullus*, rightly judging that a Man so much attached to the maintaining of the ancient Laws, and so jealous of the public Liberty as *Cicero* was, would never approve those Innovations which he designed to introduce into the Government, answered nothing to those civil Advancés, but in very loose and general Terms, which increased the Consul's Suspicions. He even shunned his Presence, that he might not be obliged to explain himself to him; and *Cicero* saw that he should never know any Thing certain about the Law, but when the Law should be publicly proposed. Yet, that he might not be surprized, he sent Secretaries to all the Assemblies of the People, to observe every Thing that should happen there, and to write down, in the best Manner they could, all the Articles of that Law, and what might be said in relation to that Subject, if it came to a Debate.

It was by Means of those Secretaries, he heard, that *Rullus* had proposed his Law in full Assembly; They brought him an exact Copy of it, and likewise of all the Discourses made on that Occasion, either by *Rullus* himself, or his Adherents.

Cicero, furnished with this Piece, called immediately the Senate together. Having read the Law to them, which contained more than forty Articles, he remonstrated to that august Body, how much the Proposals of the Tribune ought to be suspected, and even hated, by all that sincerely loved Liberty and the Quiet of the Common-wealth. As he spoke to a Body of Men entirely jealous of their own Authority, he made them sensible how much it was inconsistent with the Authority of the Senate, to create those *Decemvirs* with so absolute a Power all over the Empire, and for so long a Time as five whole Years; that there was a new kind of Magistracy arising, which would abolish all the old ones; and that the Sale of the Lands that belonged to the Domain of the State, would infallibly destroy the principal Strength of the Common-wealth.

*Cicero
makes a
Speech in
the Senate
against
Rullus.*

“ Know, Conscrip̄t Fathers, (said he) That our
 “ Tribunes have a Mind to sell the Lands of the
 “ *Attalians* and the *Olimpenians*, which *Servilius*
 “ by his Conquests, had added to the Domain of
 “ the Public. Thence these Merchants, who have
 “ resolved to sell the whole Common-wealth, are
 “ to cross over into *Macedonia*, and there, by Way
 “ of Auction, sell the royal Lands of *Philip* and
 “ *Perseus*, acquired by the Valour and Courage
 “ of *Paulus Emilius*. The fertile Lands of *Corinib*,
 “ which, through the wise Conduct of *Mummius*,
 “ make Part of the public Revenue, will not
 “ escape them. Next, they’ll sail over to *Spain*.
 “ After having sold the Lands which we possess
 “ near *New Carthage*, they’ll leave *Europe*; they’ll
 “ cross over into *Africa*, and there they will sell
 “ the Territory of *Old Carthage*. *Asia* presents
 “ them next with new Estates, and a new Field
 “ of Plunder. *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Bitbinia*, and
 “ *Paphlagonia*; all the Lands, that belonged par-
 “ ticular̄y to the several Princes, who reigned
 “ in

“ in those large Provinces, will be put up to Sale
 “ next. By the Sale of all these Domains of the
 “ Common-wealth, they are going at once to dry
 “ up all the Springs whence the Treasury used to
 “ be supplied, divert the surest Funds for paying
 “ our Legions, and deprive *Rome* and all *Italy* of
 “ the Supplies they received from those Provinces
 “ in Times of Dearth and Famine.”

Cicero took next into Consideration the Article about the Colonies which the *Decemvirs* were to settle in such Towns of *Italy* as they should think fit, and to which they were to assign the best Lands. He showed, that *Rullus*, and the other Tribunes, had no other Design by this Project, but to fill the Towns in the Neighbourhood of *Rome* with their own Creatures, that they might afterwards the easier make themselves Masters of *Rome* itself, and of the Government.

“ It is not only (continued *Cicero*) of our great
 “ Losses, and the lessening of our public Revenue, I complain; it is against that absolute
 “ Power designed for the *Decemvirate*, that I stand
 “ up at present. My Fear and Uneasiness is only
 “ for the Welfare of our Country, and the Preservation of our Liberty. For, which Way will
 “ you be able to resist a Set of Men, that, after
 “ they have filled *Italy* with their *Satellites* and
 “ Guards, will have in their own Hands all the
 “ Treasures of the Common-wealth? Never fear,
 “ says Somebody; out of those Monies, according to that Law, they are to buy Lands
 “ in *Italy* without Delay. Mighty well; but,
 “ are they very sure, that in those fertile and
 “ pleasant Countries, they shall meet with People
 “ enow disposed to sell their Lands and paternal Estates? And if there should be no Sellers,
 “ if there should be no Room to lay those
 “ Monies out that they shall have in their Hands,
 “ What will become of our Money? That is ea-

“sily answered, Conscript Fathers; If you but
 “allow them for five Years that absolute Power
 “granted by the Law, you have yourselves put
 “them in a Condition of never being accountable
 “to you: And if the Law passes, the Common-
 “wealth loses in one Day her Domains, her Fi-
 “nances, and her Liberty.”

*Rullus's
 Laws re-
 jected in
 the Senate.*

In short, *Cicero*, who was no less a Statesman than he was an Orator, spoke with so much Force and Eloquence; he demonstrated so plainly, that *Rullus* himself, and his Colleagues and Adherents, had no other Aim, but to enrich themselves at the Expence of the Public, and to re-establish the ancient Tyranny of the *Decemvirs*, that the Law was rejected by the Senate almost unanimously.

Though *Rullus* and his Party were very much daunted at the Impression that *Cicero's* strong Reasoning and invincible Eloquence had made on the Senate, they, notwithstanding, carried the Affair before the People, who alone had the Right of deciding finally, and where they hoped to find so much the greater Favour for their Law, as it seemed chiefly calculated for the Advantage of the common People. And, indeed, all the Populace looked on *Rullus* as another *Gracchus*, as their Patron and Benefactor; being deluded by the Temptation of the Lands promised to be purchased for them in *Italy*.

But *Cicero*, though well apprized of that Disposition in the People, abated nothing of his Courage and Zeal; and, on the Day when the Assembly was held, he ordered the whole Senate to attend him thither. He accordingly appeared in the *Forum* at the Head of that august Body, preceded by his Lictors, and with all the Majesty of a Sovereign Magistrate of the Commonwealth. He mounted the Rostrum, and, without minding either the Invectives of the Tribunes, or the Clamours of the People, he began his Speech; and undertook

undertook to show even the People themselves how much that new Law was contrary to their true Interests, and the public Liberty.

Butas he had to deal with a Multitude prejudiced by their Tribunes against every Thing that came from the Senate; like an artful Orator, he took a very dextrous Method to insinuate himself into their Confidence. He began his Discourse with telling the People that he was himself a *Plebeian* originally, born in the *Equestrian* Order, and that he was beholden for his Consulate to Nobody but the People themselves.

“ I am,” said he, “ the first new Man whom in
 “ our Days you have made a Consul; and by
 “ chusing me, you have gained a Post, of which
 “ the Nobility was always before possessed, and
 “ which they defended with all their Might. You
 “ have raised me to it with so uncommon an Unanimity, that never any *Patrician* arrived to it
 “ with so much Splendor, nor any *Plebeian* with
 “ so much Glory. And what ought to increase
 “ my Attachment and my Gratitude towards the
 “ People, is, that in the Assembly, called for my
 “ Election, you never came to a Balloting, which
 “ are Signs of only a secret Liberty; but you
 “ have exalted me to this high Station with Acclamations and public Rejoicings; which, perhaps, do me more Honour than the very Dignity you have bestowed on me. Since then I
 “ am a new Man, and a *Plebeian*, that I owe
 “ the Dignity I am invested with entirely to
 “ the People; I openly declare before the whole
 “ Senate, and before all the Nobility, that I am
 “ resolved to be a popular Consul; that nothing,
 “ during my Consulate, shall be so dear to me
 “ as the Interests of that People to whom I
 “ have such great Obligations: And, if possible,
 “ I will prevent those Funds from being ruined
 “ and sunk, whence they have their chief
 “ Strength,

“ Strength, and receive their Subsistence in Times
 “ of War.

“ Not that I disapprove all the Laws made con-
 “ cerning the sharing of Lands. There are some
 “ which I hold in great Esteem. The Memory of
 “ the two *Gracchi*’s shall always be dear to me;
 “ those illustrious Brothers, who sacrificed their
 “ Lives to recover such Lands for the People, as
 “ some private Persons had unjustly usurped. The
 “ *Lex Sempronia* will always be respected by all
 “ honest Men. But I cannot consent to that pro-
 “ posed by *Rullus*; who, to dazzle your Eyes,
 “ vainly brags of the Lands which he has not,
 “ nor ever can have, in his Power to bestow on
 “ you. Under so plausible a Pretence, his De-
 “ sign is to deprive us of all our Liberty, and
 “ make himself the Tyrant of the Common-
 “ wealth. This I undertake to make you plainly
 “ sensible of; and if, after you shall have heard
 “ me, you are not satisfied with the Solidity of my
 “ Proofs, I promise you to desist. I will receive
 “ the Law at your Hands; I will sign it; and, as
 “ a popular Consul, I will conform myself to the
 “ Majority of the People.”

Then taking the Law before him, he read it
 all over; and as, when he argued against it in the
 Senate, he chiefly applied himself to demonstrate,
 how the Creation of those new Magistrates would
 entirely ruin the Authority of the old Ones: Now,
 speaking more especially to the People, he expa-
 tiated upon all those Articles that might affect their
 Liberty, and the Privilege each Citizen had of giv-
 ing his Voice at Elections, and thereby to deter-
 mine which Laws should, or should not pass.

“ The first Article of the Law,” said he, “ or-
 “ dains, that he who proposed the same, shall
 “ establish *Decemvirs* by the Suffrages of seven-
 “ teen Tribes chosen by Lot; and that he shall be
 “ elected a *Decemvir*, whom nine of those seven-
 “ teen

“ teen Tribes shall have voted for. I would fain
“ ask this audacious Tribune, how he dares de-
“ prive eighteen Tribes of their Right of Vot-
“ ing? Was there ever one Instance in the Com-
“ mon-wealth, of a Triumvir or Decemvir be-
“ ing created, without the Concurrence of all the
“ five and thirty Tribes? What can be the De-
“ sign of this Tribune, in introducing so surpriz-
“ ing an Innovation in our Government? You
“ shall know it presently: He does not want for
“ Contrivances; he only wants Honesty and Fi-
“ delity to the *Roman* People: He has been want-
“ ing to Justice, and has no Ways regarded your
“ Rights or Interests. *Rullus* moreover pretends,
“ that the Author of this Law shall preside in
“ the Assembly of the *Roman* People; that is to
“ say, *Rullus* ordains, that *Rullus* shall hold the
“ Assembly. The same *Rullus*, who will trust
“ nothing to the entire Body of the *Romans*, or-
“ dains, that the Tribes shall cast Lots. Now,
“ as he is to preside therein, and has a lucky
“ Hand, what Tribe think you is like to come
“ out of the Balloting-box, but such as he shall
“ approve of? And, by a Train of such Con-
“ trivances, those whom the nine Tribes chosen
“ by *Rullus* shall have named to be *Decemvirs*,
“ will, under the Authority and Direction of
“ *Rullus*, be our Lords and our Masters, and
“ the absolute Dispensers of our Estates. Was
“ ever any Project more unjust, more audacious,
“ and more contrary to our Laws? And who is
“ the Author of this new Law? *Rullus*. Who
“ is that Man, who dares deprive the greatest
“ Part of the People of their Right of Voting?
“ *Rullus*. Who is he, that has a Secret at Hand,
“ to draw out of the Urn none but the Names
“ of such Tribes, where he is sure to have the
“ greatest Sway? *Rullus*. Who shall name the
“ *Decemvirs* according to his own Ends and In-
“ terest?

“terest? *Rullus*. Who shall be the first of these
 “*Decemvirs*? Is that a Question? Who should,
 “but *Rullus*? In short, who shall be the absolute
 “Master of all the Domains and Revenues of
 “the Common-wealth? The sole *Rullus*. Can
 “you, Sirs, that are the Masters and Kings of so
 “many Nations, tamely take such Usage? Scarce
 “should so shameful a Prevarication be suffered
 “under the Empire of a Tyrant, and by a Com-
 “munity of Slaves.”

Cicero, having thus endeavoured to raise the In-
 dignation of the People against this Attempt upon
 their most legal Rights, proceeded next to the
 other Articles of that Law. He showed the In-
 justice and Inconveniencies of them all. He re-
 peated in this second Speech part of what he had
 already said before the Senate. He added, That a
 Man, without any lawful Authority, after having
 procured himself to be chosen a *Decemvir*, against
 the usual Method of Elections, would think him-
 self authorized to sell the Domain of the Common-
 wealth to whom he pleased, and at what Rate
 he pleased. “What monstrous Robbery is this?”
 cried the Consul. “Who can doubt, but that
 “the Buyer and Seller will often be the same
 “Person, though, perhaps, the true Buyer may not
 “appear but under a borrowed Name? But pray,
 “where is this Scene to be acted? Do you fancy
 “it will be in the public *Forum*, in the Sight
 “of all the Citizens, as the Censors use, when
 “they farm out the Revenues of the Common-
 “wealth? No, Sirs; *Rullus* nor his Colleagues,
 “care not to be so public. They design to lurk
 “in dark Corners, that shall conceal their Frauds
 “and Robberies: The Author of the Law, who
 “has taken all his Measures right, provides
 “and ordains, That they shall be at Liberty to
 “make their Sales wherever they shall think
 “fit.”

We

We should be obliged wholly to transcribe the three Speeches which *Cicero* made on this Occasion, if we would rehearse every particular Argument which this Excellent Orator opposed to the Establishment of so dangerous a Law. In short, he spoke so much to the Purpose, that he convinced the People, that they could not pass and receive it without destroying their own Liberty, and ruining the Common-wealth. All the Projects of *Rullus* and his Colleagues were rejected unanimously. On the first Day of January, said *Cicero* in his Oration against *Piso*, I freed the Senate, and all honest Men, from the fear of this Law.

The People reject this Law.

Cicero in Pison. Plin. l. 7. c. 30.

But it proved a harder Task for him to dissipate the Terrors which were occasioned by the ill Designs of *CATILINE* and his Party. Not that all the World was equally at the Bottom of his Plot: Various were the Opinions about it in *Rome*: Those that were the most favourable to that Ring-leader of Sedition, pretended, that all his Aim was against *Cicero*, whom he hated, said they, for having carried the last Election for Consul from him. Others gave out, that this ambitious *Patri- cian*, educated under the absolute Government of *Sylla*, designed, during the Absence of *POMPEY*, who was at a great Distance, to revive a perpetual Dictatorship, as he had done. And all these Reports, whose Authors were unknown, had a Mixture of Falsity and Truth, and wonderfully increased the Uneasiness of the Senate, and the Fears of honest Men.

Cicero was better informed: *Fulvia* mentioned above, hid nothing from him of what she could learn by her Lover *Curius*, one of the Heads of the Conspiracy. But the Evidence of one single Woman of ill Repute was not sufficient to authorize a regular prosecution against a Man of *CATILINE*'s Birth, whose Relations and Friends were the most considerable, not only in the Senate but the whole City.

City. The Consul saw very well, that he needed other Proofs, and such Evidences as could not be excepted against. He therefore sent Spies secretly into all their Cabals. He even gained over some of the Conspirators themselves, who, as he directed them, pretended to be the warmest Promoters of the Plot. It was by their Help that he discovered the Designs of CATILINE, the various Sentiments of those of his Party, the Number and Quality of his Adherents, and the general, as well as the private Views of each of the Conspirators.

As he always kept faithful Spies among those Hot-heads, he was in a Manner Witness of their Discourses, Resolutions, and even their Thoughts. He learned with as much Surprise as Sorrow, that this Band of Profligates had formed a Plot to set Fire to several Parts of the City: That during the Confusion and Uproar which so general a Conflagration would cause, they had agreed to murder the chief Men of the Senate in their very Houses; and that at the same Time they would cause the Troops under *Manlius* to advance, in order to make themselves Masters of *Rome* and the Government. Whilst the Conspirators were hugging themselves with the Prospect of immense Treasures, and a boundless Authority from the Success of their cruel Designs, News was brought and spread all over *Rome*, that POMPEY, having subdued a great Part of the *East*, was returning to *Italy* at the Head of a victorious Army. *Catiline*, frightened at this unseasonable Accident, which ruined all his Designs, resolved to hasten the Execution of them. He confers with the chief of his Party; he speaks to each of them in private; he renews his Promises, and the Hopes he had given them, that in a Change of the Government they should find an entire Satisfaction of all their Wishes. At last he calls them all together in the Night in a private Part of *M. Licca's* House, and repre-

sents to them, that *Pompey's* Return would defeat all their Measures, unless they had Courage enough to be before hand with him. That their Undertaking was so much the easier, as there were no Troops neither in *Rome* nor in *Italy*; and their Enemies might be crushed before they could fore-see the Blow that was prepared for them.

"It is in your Power (said he) to be Masters of *Rome* To-morrow. *Pompey* is yet far off; the Town is without any Defence; and the Senate composed mostly of People without Courage, depressed with Age, or unmanned by Luxury. As for us, we want neither Strength nor Courage. We are numerous, and most of us of the best Families in the *Roman* State. The People, who always hated the Senate, will declare for us; and we have out of *Rome* all those brave Soldiers of *Sylla*, who, united under the Command of *Manlius*, wait only for your Orders. It behoves us only to begin; the whole depends upon our quickness and dispatch in executing; and you will meet with Honours, Riches, and Offices in the Successes of your Designs."

Sallust.
Catiline's
Speech.

This Discourse was received with great Applause. Then several Opinions were offered, and the most violent was still the best liked. As they stood in Fear of *Cicero's* Foresight and Firmness, they agreed to begin with making away with a Man, who, by the Authority that his Consulate gave him, might traverse the Execution of their Projects. It was resolved at the same Time to set Fire to an hundred different Parts of the City, to cut the Water-Pipes, in order to disable them from putting out the Fire; to murder the whole Senate; and to spare none but *Pompey's* Children, whom they should retain as Hostages, against the Power and Resentment of that formidable Warriour. That next to this, *Catiline* should put himself at the Head of the Forces which *Manlius* had raised,

and should settle his Authority in the State in the same Manner that *Sylla* had done before; and should even change the Constitution as he should find it most for his Interest. *Cetbegus*, and *Cornelius*, a Roman Knight, offered to go and stab *Cicero* in his own House; and the Night preceding the *Saturnalia* was fixed for firing the City.

From Council they went to a plentiful Entertainment, which was accompanied with most horrible Debauchery, and those shameful Crimes which Nature itself starts at. It is said, that young Men were not ashamed to prostitute themselves to the Chiefs of the Conspiracy; and that *Catiline*, to bind all the Conspirators with the Bonds of equal Guilt and Fury, presented them with a Bowl filled with human Blood and Wine mingled, of which they all drank. But some of these Facts are not so well proved in History; and, perhaps, were only grounded on the general Prejudice against that Monster of a Man; a Prejudice which inclined Men to believe, that the same Root which produced so great a Crime as the Conspiracy, carried in itself every Thing abominable.

The Conspirators were no sooner parted, but *Cicero* had Notice given him by *Fulvia*, of the Danger of the Common-wealth, and particularly of the Designs formed against his own Life. As he was a Man of very regular Manners, wise, temperate, and besides of great Experience, he had a vast Advantage over a Parcel of furious and passionate People, whose Designs were always contrived in Wine and Riots. He began with regulating every Thing in his own House; and *Cetbegus* calling there the next Morning early, under Pretence that he had Business of great Moment to communicate to the Consul, Entrance was denied him. He went away complaining and threatening, which rendered him still more suspected.

However,

Plut.
Cetbegus
goes to
Cicero's
House to
kill him.

However, *Cicero* not thinking his own Authority *Cicero*
 sufficient to dissipate so powerful a Cabal, call'd *convenes*
 the Senate together: He went thither, attended *the Senate.*
 with a vast Number of his Friends and Clients;
 and he put a Coat of Mail under his Robe, which
 he show'd designedly, thereby to intimate the
 Danger he was exposed to. He communicated
 the whole Plot to the Senate. He told them, That
 the Common-wealth had Enemies within, as well
 as out of *Rome*; and that whilst *Catiline* was form-
 ing the Design of setting Fire to the City, and
 murdering the whole Senate and the chief Citizens,
Manlius was, on his Side, endeavouring to make
Tuscany revolt: That he had put himself at the
 Head of all the Vagabonds in *Italy*, and That the
 Inhabitants of the Colonies planted by *Sylla*, and
 the veteran Soldiers of that Dictator, who had
 spent in Luxury and Excess all that their former
 Robberies had supplied them with, had join'd that
 Rebel, and were preparing to come to *Rome*, in
 order to renew the Fury of *Sylla* and *Marius's*
 Proscriptions.

As there were a good many of the Conspirators
 that were Senators themselves, *Cicero* did not think
 it yet a proper Time to name those by whom he
 had been inform'd. But the Confidence and Trust
 in his Probity was so great, that the Senate, with-
 out requiring he should prove his Allegations, or
 produce Witnesses, by a public Decree ordained,
 That the Consuls should take Care, *that no Detri-*
ment came to the Common-wealth: An ancient Form,
 by which the Magistrates for the Time being had
 the amplest Power conferr'd on them; which, how-
 ever, they were never trusted with, but in the
 greatest Dangers of the State.

Cicero, invested with so great an Authority, which
 his Colleague entirely left to him, sends immedi-
 ately certain Senators, and some of the trustiest
 and worthiest Men of the Common-wealth, to the

principal Towns in *Italy*, to retain the People in their Duty. He at the same Time settled in different Parts of *Rome*, Corps of Guard, to prevent, or to stop the Incendiaries. The Senate, by his Advice, in order to be better inform'd of the Particulars, promises a Pardon, and even a Reward, to those of the Conspirators, who should come and make any useful Discoveries. But those Profligates were so strictly link'd together, and so bent upon Mischief, that among so large a Number of them, who were either at *Rome*, or in *Manlius's* Army, there was not a single Man, whom either the Fear of Punishment, or Hopes of Reward, could draw to discover the ill Designs of his Accomplices. The common People, always desirous of Novelty, even favour'd that Party, and, as usual, flattered themselves with bettering their Condition in the Change of Government, and the public Disturbances. *Catiline* himself, or his Emissaries, had spread and propagated among the People of all Degrees, a Spirit of Sedition and Rebellion; and you might have found in this Conspiracy, not only Senators, but Knights, *Plebeians*, and even Slaves.

The Particulars of their Designs were yet better discovered by Means of a Packet left by an unknown Person with *Crassus's* Porter. There were in this Packet Letters directed to several different People, all without the Name of the Writer, and another without a Direction, which last *Crassus* open'd. He found therein the whole Plan of the Conspiracy: And was likewise admonish'd, if he valued his Life, forthwith to leave *Rome*. As Nobody was ignorant, that there had always been a pretty great Intimacy between *Catiline* and him, lest he should make himself suspected, he carried the Packet to the Consul, who caus'd it to be read before the whole Senate. Whilst that Body was deliberating upon it, *Catiline* came in, as if he had

had no Ways been concerned in the Affair. But, when he was going to seat himself among the Senators, all his Brethren avoided him, and not one would remain upon the same Bench with him. *Cicero*, who was President of the Assembly, no longer able to conceal his Indignation, directed his Speech to him with that thundering Eloquence, wherewith he used so effectually to terrify the Guilty.

“ How long, CATILINE, dost thou design to
 “ abuse our Patience? How long are we yet to
 “ be the Object of thy Fury? How far dost thou
 “ design to carry thy guilty Audaciousness? Don’t
 “ you perceive, by the continual Watch all over
 “ the City, by the scared looks of the People,
 “ and by the angry Countenance of the Senators,
 “ that your pernicious Designs are discovered?
 “ Faithful Eyes are upon all your Proceedings;
 “ you cannot hold any Counsel so secret, but that
 “ I hear of it; I am present there myself; I am
 “ present to your very Thoughts. Do you fancy
 “ that I am ignorant of what passed last Night at
 “ *M. Lecca’s* House? Did not you there distribute
 “ Employments, and divide all *Italy* into Shares
 “ with your Accomplices? Some are to take the
 “ Field under the Command of *Manlius*, and others
 “ to stay in the City, to fire it in a hundred different
 “ Places at a Time. During the Disorder
 “ and Tumult occasioned by so general a Fire, the
 “ Consul and most of the Senators are to be
 “ massacred in their own Houses. The Senate,
 “ that august and sacred Assembly, is informed of
 “ the most minute Circumstances of the Plot; yet
 “ does *Catiline* live; not only lives, but is one
 “ amongst us, hears us, and looks on us as so many
 “ Sacrifices. Whilst I am now speaking, he is
 “ marking out those whom he designs for Death;
 “ yet we are so patient, or rather so weak, that
 “ we are less intent on the Method how to punish

“ his Crimes, than how we shall preserve ourselves
 “ from his Fury.”

CATILINE stood this vehement Discourse with a deep Dissimulation; and, at first, answered it only by conjuring the Senate, they would not hearken, or give Credit, to the Invectives of his Enemy, and of a new Man, an Upstart, who had not in Rome so much as a House of his own, and who had forged the Plan of a Conspiracy, to get himself a Name, and acquire the Title of *Defender of his Country*. He added to this a great many other Reflections upon Cicero; but he was interrupted by a general Murmuring, which hindered him from being heard. The whole Senate-house rung with nothing but the Names of Incendiary, of Parricide, and Enemy to his Country. CATILINE, provoked at these Reproaches, pale with Anger, and his Eyes burning with Rage, cried out, in a furious Passion, That since they had provoked him to the utmost, he would not fall alone, but would involve in his Fate those who had resolved his Ruin. Upon this he instantly went out of the Senate, and called to his House Lentulus, Cethegus, and the Chief of the Conspirators. He gave them an Account of what had just happened in the Senate, and made them sensible, That he could no longer with Safety stay at Rome: That he was going to put himself at the Head of the Forces which Manlius had raised for him in several Parts of *Hetruria*; and that after he had made one Army of them all, he would advance with it to Rome: That it was incumbent on them who staid in Town, to turn all their Thoughts towards the destroying of the Consul, the only Man who could lay an Obstacle in the Way of their Designs; That, above all Things, he admonished them to gain the Youth of Rome to their Party, and to increase the Number of their Friends.

Catiline
 quits
 Rome.

He

He went away the Night following, accompanied with three hundred armed Men, directly to *Manlius*. He had no sooner assembled the Forces that he had made himself sure of, but he assumed all the public Tokens of a Sovereign Magistrate, and was preceded by Lictors carrying Fasces before him. The Senate, informed of so open a Rebellion, ordained that the Consul *Antonius* should immediately march against the Rebels at the Head of the Legions; and that *Cicero* should remain in the City to watch for its Preservation.

In the mean Time *Lentulus*, and the other Chiefs *Catiline's* of the Conspiracy, applied themselves, according *Creatures* to CATILINE'S Instructions, to the gaining over *endeavour* more Partisans. They endeavoured to draw into *to draw* the Plot the Ambassadors of the *Allobroges*, then at *the Allo-* *brog Am-* *bassadors* *into their* *Plot.* *Rome*. They were come to *Rome*, to desire the Senate to ease them somewhat in the Taxes laid on them, the accumulated Interest whereof for many Years, did now, through the ruinous Art of Usurers, amount to more than the real Value of their Lands: But the insatiable Avarice of those who farmed these Taxes, and the Inflexibility of the Magistrates, was the Occasion that no Notice was taken of their Misery: The very Fund and Property of those Estates, was not sufficient to discharge the Debts; and they were in a just Fear of seeing their Wives and Children forthwith sold for Slaves, to satisfy those cruel Exactions.

Lentulus, having discovered that these Deputies were greatly incensed against the Senate, resolved to take Advantage of their Disposition. As the *Allobroges* were a warlike People, he flattered himself he should draw a considerable Assistance from them, if he could determine them to take up Arms, and to join CATILINE'S Army. *Umbrenus*, one of the Conspirators, and who had some Acquaintance with one of the Deputies, was com-

missioned to treat with them. Under Pretence of enquiring after their Affairs, he accosts them, and asks them what they thought would be the Issue of their Business? *No other than Death* (said they) *since the Senate is not moved with our just Complaints*, *Umbrenus*, to insinuate himself into their Confidence, pities them, blames the Senate's Hard-heartedness, offers his own Service, and that of his Friends, bestirs him much, and seemingly solicits for them. These good Offices engaged them to a more frequent Conversation; they gradually begin to confide in each other, and at last a firm Friendship and Union is established. Then does *Umbrenus* tell them (but by Way of Secrecy) that they must expect nothing from the Senate, whose Politics required them to keep the Subjects of the State in a continual Poverty, and an humble Dependance. He adds, that there was, however, one Remedy left for their Misfortunes, and he knew a Method to deliver them from all their Debts at once: But that it equally required Secrecy and Courage. Those deputies declared, That no Undertaking could be so difficult, but that they were ready for it, if thereby they could but free their Nation from the Tyranny of the Money-Lenders; and they intreated *Umbrenus* at the same Time to discover to them the Means of breaking their Bonds. But that *Roman* did not think fit to open himself more particularly, before he had conferred upon it with *Lentulus*, and the other Chiefs of the Conspiracy. His Conduct was approved, and, to add more Weight to the Treaty, *Gabinus* was joined with him. These two Men began their Conferences with the *Allobroges* in *Sempronia's* House.

Gabinus, after having exacted from them the most solemn Oaths, discovered the whole Plan of the Plot to them, and the Number and Strength of the Conspirators; which he made still more con-

considerable than they actually were, with Intent to make them seem the more formidable. He added, That if their Nation would take up Arms and join *Catiline*, they should have all the Sureties given them, which they could desire, of a general Discharge of their Debts.

They parted after several Proposals, and agreed *The Allobroges deceive the Conspirators.* to meet again the Night following, to put the Treaty in Form, which as yet was only minuted down. But no sooner were those Deputies alone, but the Greatness of the Danger wherein they were going to plunge their Nation, and the Uncertainty of the Event, began to make them uneasy. Subsequent Thoughts weakened their first Resolutions. On one Side indeed they saw an Army in the Field, sustained in *Rome* by a powerful Party, composed of a great Number of People of the first Rank and Distinction. But they saw on the other Side the lawful Authority, the Consuls, the Senate, and the Legions. They might even flatter themselves, that by revealing the Secret of the Conspiracy, they might by Way of Reward obtain the Abolition, or at least a considerable Abatement, of their Debts.

In this Uncertainty they resolved to do nothing without the Privity of *Q. Fabius Sanga*, who was the Protector of the *Allobroges*, according to the Custom of those Times, in which all the different Nations, subjected, or allied to the Commonwealth, had in the Senate one of that Body, who took Care of their Interests. *Sanga*, after having represented to them the Horror and Danger of such an Undertaking, agreed with them to go instantly to the Consul, and inform him of the Proposals made to those Deputies. *Cicero* would see them himself. He gained them with more solid Hopes and Promises than those of the Conspirators. They devoted themselves entirely to his Orders, and agreed with him to continue to treat with the Chiefs of the Conspiracy.

Lentulus hereupon, together with *Cetbegus*, *Statilius*, and the Principals of that Plot, met secretly in a Place agreed on. The Deputies came thither likewise: The Affair for which they met was debated anew. The Conspirators shew how advantageous and how easy the Thing was: The *Allobroges* start their Difficulties, and demand suitable Sureties. At last, after many Struggles, they feign to be convinced. The Treaty is written over fair. They sign it, together with all the Chiefs of the Plot: A Duplicate is made of it, equally signed by all the Parties; and the Deputies demand it should be left and trusted with them, that they might communicate it to the Chiefs of Their Nation, who, seeing the Hands of so many considerable Men, would so much the sooner be disposed to ratify the Treaty. It was agreed, they should set out at Night for their own Country; and should take their Way through *Catiline's* Camp, to get his Ratification. *Lentulus* gave them Letters for *Catiline*, which contained the Plan of the Conspiracy, and the Measures they had taken with his Accomplices to destroy the Consul, and the best Part of the Senators. And one of the Conspirators, called *Volturcius*, of the City of *Crotona*, undertook to convoy those Deputies to *Catiline*, and acquaint him with what Method was agreed on to make their Nation rise up in Arms.

The Allobroges arrested.

Cicero being informed by the *Allobroges*, that they were to set out the very Night following, sent secretly two Prætors with a sufficient Number of Guards, who posted themselves upon the *Milvian* Bridge, where they must needs pass. The *Allobroges* arrived accordingly, and were arrested with all that were with them. They surrendered to the Prætors without making any Resistance, like People surprized and frightened.

Volturcius was taken with them, together with a Box, wherein were all the Letters of the Conspirators.

The Consul having now in his Power the Proofs The Con-
spiracy
being
sufficiently
proved, the
chief of
those con-
cerned in it
are secur'd. of the Conspiracy, summoned the Senate very early in the Morning to the Temple of *Concord*; and sent to arrest *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Gabinus*, and *Ceparius*, who were brought under a Guard before the Assembly. At the same Time the Deputies of the *Allobroges* were brought in, together with *Volturcius*, who, upon Promise of his Pardon, unfolded the whole Mystery of the Conspiracy. Their Letters were read publicly; and *Lentulus*, being convicted by his own Hand-writing, was obliged upon the Spot to divest himself of the Prætorship. He quitted his Purple Robe; another was given him more suitable to his present miserable Condition; and he with his Accomplices were severally carried to separate Houses, which served them for Prisons. *Cethegus* Plut. in
Cicer. found Means to convey a Note to some of his Friends and Freed-men, by which he encouraged them to get the whole Party up, and to try the utmost in the Night to set him at Liberty. *Cicero* The Senate
consult
about
punishing
the Con-
spirators. fearing some dangerous Tumult in their Behalf, summoned the Senate together again in the Evening, to come to an ultimate Resolution concerning the Prisoners.

Syllanus, Consul Elect for the Year ensuing, and *Syllanus's* Opinion. who, according to Custom, was asked his Advice first, declared, That every one of them deserved to die. All that voted after him were of the same Opinion, except *Julius Cæsar*, who made a long Speech in Praise of Clemency, and concluded, saying, That in an Affair which concerned the Lives of Citizens, and the principal *Patricians* in *Rome*, it was adviseable not to be too hasty in giving Judgment; but that they should be well-guarded,

guarded, and kept in some Towns of *Italy*, till *Catiline* had been vanquished. As he was an excellent Orator, he brought most of the Senators to concur with him in his Opinion. Even *Syllanus*, who had voted first for putting them to Death without Delay, retracted, and said, "That when he gave it as his Opinion, that they ought to be condemned to the highest Punishment, it ought to be understood only of Imprisonment, which was," said he, "the greatest Punishment that could be inflicted on a *Roman* Citizen."

Cicero
causes the
Conspirators to be
executed
in the
several
Prisons.

But *Cato*, when it came to his Turn to vote, did in such lively Colours represent the Horror of the Conspirators Designs; he showed with so many unanswerable Arguments, that their Lives were incompatible with the Safety of the State; and that, to save a small Number of Profligates, they were in a Manner plunging a Dagger into the Bosom of every honest Man, that the whole Senate returned to their former Opinion. The Sentence of their Death was pronounced; and *Cicero*, upon the Decree of the Senate only, and without carrying it before the Assembly of the People, according to Custom, had them executed that Moment in the several Prisons where they had been confined. It is said, that after this Execution he met in the *Forum* a great Number of their Kindred and Accomplices, who yet knew nothing of their Fate, and who were only waiting for the Night to rescue them; and that turning himself towards them, he cried out to them, (*Vixerunt*) *They have lived*; a softened Way which the *Romans* were wont to express themselves in, to avoid the Harshness of the Phrase, (*Mortui sunt*) *They are dead*; and that this only Word, like a Thunderbolt, did in an Instant dissipate that Multitude of Conspirators, and broke all their Designs.

It is impossible to express the Joy which the People showed, when they saw so dangerous a Plot quashed, and the Conspirators punished. Nothing was heard but cursing of *Catiline*, and praising of *Cicero*: Most waited on him to his own House. Even the Women, to express their Gratitude, put out Lights at their Windows, as to light him. This Night was more glorious to him, than a Day of Triumph ever was to the most victorious General. People scrupled not to say, That great Generals had indeed acquired whole Provinces for the Common-wealth; but that *Cicero*, without Troops, without Battles, without Bloodshed, had saved it from Ruin. He was called the second Founder of *Rome*, and the Father of his Country. All the several Orders of the State devoted themselves to him; and his Authority was so much the more solid, as he owed it to his own Virtue only, and the Esteem as well as Gratitude of his Fellow-Citizens.

Cæsar, though very considerable in the State by his Birth, his Eloquence, and his own Interest and that of his Friends, was treated in a quite different Manner. He had before been suspected of having dark Designs; and *Cicero* had been heard to say more than once, That he observed something in the whole of his Conduct, that discovered a Spirit secretly aiming at the Tyranny. What he had done to save the Lives of the Plotters, increased those Suspicions. When he came out of the Senate, where he had spoke with so much Warmth to save them from being put to Death; the Knights, who were upon Duty, held the Points of their Swords with a threatening Countenance towards him. They would have killed him; but *Cicero*, whose Looks they watched as to receive their Orders from him, made them a Sign to let him escape.

Not

*Cicero's
Triumph.**suspected.
Ap. Alex.
l. 2. c. 1.**Plut. in
Cæsar.*

Not but that it was then reported, that he had been charged home by some of the Conspirators with being engaged in the Plot himself: But *Cicero*, who was very sensible how great his Interest was already in *Rome*, purposely avoided impeaching him with the rest, lest, by the Assistance of his Friends and Relations, escaping himself the Rigour of the Laws, he might at the same Time save the rest of the Criminals. Every Body was however convinced, that he had been privy to all their evil Designs; and he was from that Time looked upon as a Man capable of undertaking any Thing to make himself Great.

Catiline
persists.

The News of the Execution of *Lentulus* and *Celbегus* was no sooner brought to *Catiline's* Camp, but several of the Plotters, seeing the Party of the Common-wealth prevailed, got off privately. There was even a great Number of Soldiers, whom the Desire of Novelty and the Hope of Plunder had engaged in *Catiline's* Party, that deserted him. But the Head of the Party abated nothing of his first Designs. He resolved either to perish himself, or to destroy the Common-wealth. He made new Levies; he compleated his Cohorts with them, and in a short Time filled up his Legions; they were all mad with Fury, and thirsting after the Blood of their own Countrymen.

The first Design of *Catiline*, as we said above, was to advance with his Army to the very Gates of *Rome*, at the same Time that the Conspirators should begin to act their Part within, by setting Fire to different Quarters of the Town at once. But the Consul having broke all these Measures by his Vigilance, and by putting to Death the Chiefs of the Plot, the Heads of the Conspiracy resolved to pass over into *Gaul*, and to cause all the Provinces that acknowledged the *Roman* Empire to revolt. 2. *Metellus Celer*, having penetrated

trated into his Design, cut off his Way thither by incamping just where he must needs pass, at the same Time that the Consul *Antonius* follow'd him close with his Army.

CATILINE seeing himself surrounded with Enemies, and having no Place in *Italy* to retreat to, nor any Help to hope from *Rome*, was obliged to hazard a Battle, though with Forces inferior to those of *Antony*. That Consul, being at that Time laid up with the Gout, left the Conduct of his Army to *Petreius*, an old Officer, who had been in the Service above thirty Years, and who from a private Centinel had rais'd himself by his Merit to the Degree of a General. But this sudden Illness of the Consul, who was rather a weak than a wicked Man, made it suspected that he was tender of *Catiline*, with whom he had had Engagements formerly; and he was even accus'd of it afterwards before the Magistrates. It was said, that this Fit of the Gout, which came upon him just on the Eve before he was to fight the Enemy of the Common-wealth, was but a Pretence, and a feign'd Illness, either to retard the Ruin of *Catiline*, or at least to have no Hand in it himself. But the Rebels reap'd no Manner of Advantage from this affected Delay. *Petreius*, from a Lieutenant-general now risen to be General, press'd so hard upon them, that he forc'd them to come to a Battle. The Fight was fierce and obstinate. If the Legions of the Common-wealth fought with great Valour, those of *Catiline* behav'd themselves with no less Obstinacy: All were resolv'd to vanquish, or to die. Not a Man gave Way: There was none that would either give or accept of Quarter. The living Soldier immediately stepp'd into the Place of his Companion that fell before him: It was not till after a great Slaughter, and a long Resistance,

The Consul Antony suspected.

Fight between Petronius and Catiline.

ance, that the Army of the State at last defeated that of the Rebels: Every Man of them was cut to Pieces: *Catiline*, who was resolved not to survive the Ruin of his Party, threw himself with the other Captains, into the thickest of the Fight; and after the Battle, that famous Chief was found, with some little Remains of Life in him, upon a Heap of dead Bodies. Thro' the Agonies of Death were yet seen in his Face the Marks of that Audaciousness and Fierceness natural to him during his Life.

The End of the Twelfth Book.



B O O K XIII.

Cæsar unites with Pompey and Crassus, and is chosen Consul. Cicero banish'd. He is recall'd. The Government of Gaul and Illyrium is conferred on Cæsar, who employs the Wealth of those Provinces to secure the Soldiery to him, and make himself Creatures in Rome. The Power which his Victories and his Money gain him makes Pompey uneasy, who openly breaks with him. Rome and all the Provinces divide between those two great Men, who decide their Quarrel in the Plains of Pharsalia. Cæsar, become Master of the whole Empire, is assassinated as a Tyrant, notwithstanding his Clemency.

WE have just now seen what Success a Conspiracy had, which the Indiscretion of the Conspirators betray'd, and the wise Conduct of Cicero entirely defeated. Debauchery, Luxury, and Poverty, the natural Consequence of the former, had given it Birth: The uncommon Ambition of some private Men strengthened it at a Time when Rome had scarce any Thing left of a ^{State of} the Republican Government, besides the bare Name. ^{the Re-}public. The Great Ones alone reign'd with an absolute Authority. The whole Administration was center'd in a few Families, who handed the Consular Dignity about to one another. A small Number of Citizens did, by Turns, dispose of the Command of the Armies, as also the Government and Revenues of the Provinces. They being Arbiters of Peace and

and War, and accustom'd to the Homages and Honours that go along with sovereign Power, it happen'd very seldom, that any of them, at the quitting of their great Places, could easily resolve to return to that Level which a private Life reduc'd them to with their Fellow-Citizens. Some gain'd the Affections of their Soldiers, either by allowing them a Remissness in the Military Discipline, or by self-interested Liberalities. Others bought with large Sums the Votes of the People, to raise themselves to the chief Posts, or to substitute their own Creatures in their room. Those that were out-brib'd, and lost the Day, eas'd their Envy, by endeavouring to render the Power of their Rivals suspected; and cast about to promote their Ruin at the Expence of the public Peace. The honest Men, as *Cato*, *Cicero*, *Catullus*, and many others, all zealous Common-wealths Men, look'd on that excessive Power of some Citizens, their immense Riches, and the common Affection of the Armies for their Generals, as so many Steps towards Slavery. They could not bear that those great Men, under Pretence of serving their Country, should make themselves perpetual in Offices, whose supreme Authority was liable to tempt them to make themselves independent. It was from these opposite Views and different Interests, that the last Commotions of the Common-wealth arose, wherein the whole World in a Manner took Part; some siding with *Pompey*, some with *Cæsar*; the two Chiefs of two great Parties, and both equally suspected and fear'd on Account of their Ambition and Valour. *Pompey* drew in a Manner the Eyes of the whole World upon him. He was, as we have said above, a General before he was a Soldier, and his whole Life was no less than a continual Train of Victories. He had made War in the Three (then known) Parts of the World, and always return'd home loaded with Laurels. He had in *Italy* van-

quish'd

*Pompey's
great Ac-
tions.*

quished *Carinas* and *Carbo*, of *Marius's* Party; *Domitius* in *Africa*; *Sertorius*, or rather *Perpenna*, in *Spain*; the *Pirates* of *Cilicia*, in the *Mediterranean*; and since *Catiline's* Defeat, he was returned Home, after having subdued *Mitbridates* and *Tigranes*. By so many Victories and Conquests, he was become greater than the *Romans* wished him, and than he could himself have expected. In that high Degree of Glory to which Fortune had all along in a Manner handed him, he thought it became his Dignity to forbear being too familiar with his Fellow-citizens. He seldom appeared Abroad; and if he came out of his House, he was always followed by a Crowd of his Dependants, whose numerous Appearance looked more like the Court of a great Prince, than the Attendance of a Citizen of a Republic. Not that he made an ill Use of his Power; but Men of a free City could scarce bear he should thus affect the Manners and Ways of a Sovereign. Being accustomed from his Youth to the Command of Armies, he could not reduce himself again to the Simplicity of a private Life. His Morals indeed were pure and untainted; he was even justly celebrated for his Temperance; Nobody ever suspected him of Covetousness; and in the Pursuit of Dignities, he was less fond of the Power that is inseparable from them, than of the Honours and Splendor that surrounds them. But, more affected by Show than Ambition, he continually strove for Honours, that might raise him above all the Commanders of his Time. Moderate on every other Account, he could not bear any Body should pretend to an equal Share of Glory: He was offended at any Equality therein, and it seemed as if he coveted to be the only General of the Common-wealth, when he should have contented himself with being the first. This Jealousy of Command created him a great many Enemies, of whom *Cesar* was afterwards the most dangerous

His Grandeur, Ambition, &c.

and formidable. The one, as we have seen, could bear no Equal; the other no Superior. This ambitious Competition in two of the greatest Men of the Universe, caused new Revolutions; of which it will be proper to unravel the first Beginnings, and the Success.

Cæsar's
Character.

Caius Julius CÆSAR was born of the illustrious Family of the *Julij*; which, like other great Families, had its Chimæra of Bragging that it derived its Origin from *Anchises* and *Venus*. He was the best-shaped Man of his Time; dextrous at all Manner of Exercises; indefatigable, full of Valour, and of an exalted Courage; forming vast Designs; magnificent in his Expences, and liberal even to Prodigality. Nature, which seemed to have framed him to command all the rest of Mankind, had given him an Air of Empire, and a Dignity of Behaviour inexpressible. But that Air of Grandeur was allayed by the Sweetness and Gentleness of his Manners. His insinuating and invincible Eloquence was yet more owing to the Charms of his Person, than to the Strength of his Arguments. Those that were hard enough to resist the strong Impression which so many fine Qualities made, could not withstand his good Offices: And he began with conquering Men's Hearts, as the surest Foundation of the Empire he aspired to.

His Aims.

Born a simple Citizen of a Common-wealth, he formed in a private Life the Project of becoming the Master and Sovereign of his Country. The Greatness nor the Dangers of such an Undertaking, did not deter him. He found nothing superior to his Ambition, but the immense Extent of his Designs. The late Instances of *Marius* and *Sylla* made him sensible, that it was no impossible Thing to raise one's self to the supreme Power. But, wise and discreet even in his immoderate Desires, he shared out to different Seasons the Execution of his Projects. His Conceptions, always

ways just, notwithstanding their Extensiveness, carried him only by Degrees towards his Plan of Sovereignty; and, however conspicuous his Victories will hereafter appear, we ought to call them great Actions, only on this Account, that they were always the Consequences and the Effect of great Designs.

Scarce was *Sylla* dead, but he put in for public Employments: He brought with him all his Ambition. His Birth, one of the most conspicuous in the Common-wealth, ought to have devoted him to the Senate, and the *Patrician* Party: But being a Nephew of *Marius*, and *Cinna's* Son-in-Law, he declared for their Party, though it was almost ruined since *Sylla's* Dictatorship. He undertook to revive that Party, which was that of the *Plebeians*, and he flattered himself soon to be the Head of it; whereas, in the other Party, he must have submitted to *Pompey's* Authority, who was at the Head of the Senate. *Sylla*, as we observed before, had, during his Dictatorship, caused *Marius's* Trophies to be taken down. *Cæsar* was but an *Edile*, when he caused the Statue of *Marius*, crowned by the Hands of Victory, secretly to be made by some of the best Artists. He added some Inscriptions to his Honour, relating to his Victory over the *Cimbri*; and he caused these new Trophies to be placed in the Capitol in the Night. All the People ran the next Morning to see this Sight. *Sylla's* Adherents greatly censured so bold an Undertaking. Nobody doubted but it was *Cæsar's* doing. His Enemies gave out, that he aimed at Tyranny; and that such a Man ought to be punished, who durst of his private Authority raise Trophies again, which a Sovereign Magistrate had caused to be taken down: But the People, of whom *Marius* had declared himself the Protector, extolled *CÆSAR* to the Skies. Hereupon the Senate met. *CÆSAR* was publickly impeached:

Plut. in
Cæsar.
Cæsar
erects a
Statue to
Marius.
Year of
Rome,
690.

Cæsar accused and absolved.

Catulus Lucretius, one of the Chiefs, cried aloud, That it was no longer by private Contrivances and Plots that Men now attempted the Sovereign Power, but that CÆSAR was invading the Public Liberty, bare-faced. CÆSAR, on his Part, undertook to justify his Conduct; and pleaded his Cause with so much Strength of Eloquence, that, notwithstanding the Cabal of his Enemies, he was absolved; and, by so bold an Action, made the People sensible of his own Power, and the Weakness of the Senate. The Exiled, under the Countenance of his Authority, returned to *Rome*; and he procured their being recalled, under Pretence, that they had been condemned by a Citizen who had seized on the Dictatorship and Sovereign Power with an armed Force.

Causes the exiled to be recalled.

Beloved by the People.

The People, charmed with the Zeal he expressed for their Party, sounded nothing but in his Praises: They spoke it aloud in *Rome*, that he was the only Man who, by his Courage and Undauntedness, deserved to succeed *Marius* in his high Posts. The most considerable of all the Tribes, and the Heads of all the Factions, assured him, that there was nothing so high in the Common wealth, but what he might pretend to; and that he might depend on all the Votes of the People: And it was not long before they gave him Proofs of their Zeal, and of their being devoted entirely to his Interest.

Cæsar, Pontifex maximus.

The High-Priest *Metellus* being dead, *Catulus Lucretius*, who had been Consul, and was respected by all the *Romans* for his Virtue, demanded to be admitted to that Dignity. CÆSAR, though of an inferior Rank, and who had not yet been honoured with the Consulate, put up for it nevertheless among the rest of the Candidates. *Lucretius*, who looked upon him as a formidable Competitor, because of his Interest with the People, sent to offer him a large Sum, if he

would drop his Pretensions. But CÆSAR had too Plut. in great a Soul to be dazzled with sordid Lucre. Cæsar. He sent to *Luftatius*, to tell him, that, far from accepting of his Money, he would rather borrow of all his Friends to maintain his Pretensions. But he had no Occasion to do so, the People were too much in his Interest; and, upon summing up the Votes, he carried it from *Luftatius* and all his Competitors.

He was raised to the Prætorship with the same Year of Ease; and when his Time in that Office was ex- Rome, pired, the People conferred on him the Govern- 691. ment of *Spain*. It is said, that, passing over the Is made *Alps* thither, he went through a small Town, with Governor of *Spain*. but very few inhabitants in it, and those extremely poor and miserable; and that those who attended him, asking each other in a joking Way, Whether there were any Parties in that Country-Town, and any Canvassing there for the Magistracy; CÆSAR, joining in their Conversation, told them, *That he would rather chuse to be the First Man in that poor Village, than the Second in Rome.*

All CÆSAR's Care, during his being in that Government, was to extend its Limits. He carried the War into *Gallicia* and *Lusitania*, which he subjected to the *Roman* Empire; but in a Conquest of that Use to the State, he did not neglect his private Advantage. He engrossed all the Silver and Gold of those Provinces by violent Contributions, and therewith returned to *Rome*, where he was received with new Applauses by the People.

The Riches he brought along with him, was Cæsar very considerable. He employed them to make him- courts the self new Creatures, whom he attached to his For- People's tune by his repeated Liberalities and Presents. He, Favour as it were, abandoned all he had to them; his with vast House was open for them at all Times; nothing Largeſſes. was hid from them but his Heart, which even his dearest Friends could never sound. He was ca-

pable of undertaking and of concealing every Thing; always watchful, always present at all the Cabals from which he could draw any Advantage; but without ever discovering his Mind. It was not doubted but he would have put himself at the Head of *Catiline's* Plot, if it had succeeded; and that famous Rebel, who fancied he was promoting his own Greatness only, would have seen the Fruits of his Guilt snatched from him by a Man of a superior Interest in his own Party, and who had Cunning enough to let him go through all the Dangers of the Execution of that Enterprize. Yet, the ill Success of that Undertaking, and the Remembrance of the Death of the two *Gracchi's*, assassinated in Sight of the Multitude, who adored them, made him sensible, that the sole Favour of the People was not sufficient to carry his Designs to Perfection; and he rightly judged, that he could never arrive to the Supreme Power without the Command of Armies, and having a great Number of Friends, and even a Party in the Senate.

*Cæsar's
Contrivances to
get himself
chosen
Consul.*

That august Assembly was then divided betwixt POMPEY and *Crassus*, Enemies and Rivals in the Government; the one the mightiest, and the other the richest in *Rome*. The Commonwealth drew, at least, this Advantage from their Disunion, that, by dividing the Senate, it kept their Power in a Balance, and maintained its Liberty. CÆSAR resolved to unite himself sometimes with one, sometimes with the other, and, as it were to borrow their Power from Time to Time, with a Design to make Use of it for arriving the easier to the Dignity of Consul, and the Command of Armies. But, as he could not be Friends at the same Time with two open Enemies, he, at first, only meditated how he should reconcile them. He succeeded in it, and he alone profited by a Reconciliation so detrimental to the Public Liberty. He artfully persuaded POMPEY and *Crassus*

to trust him with the Consulate, as a Pledge which they both warmly pretended to, and which neither could have seen the other enjoy without Jealousy. He was elected Consul, together with *Calpurnius* Year of *Bibulus*, by the Agreement of the two united Par-Rome, ties. He secretly gained the most considerable, of⁶⁹⁴ which he formed a third Party, which in the End overthrew those very Men, who had the most contributed to his Advancement.

Rome saw itself then become a Prey to the Ambition of three Men ; who, by the Credit of their united Parties, arbitrarily disposed of all the Dignities and Employments in the Common-wealth. *Crassus*, always covetous, and too rich for a private Person, was less intent upon strengthening his Party than upon heaping up more Riches. POMPEY, satisfied with the outward Marks of Respect and Veneration that the Splendor of his Victories gave him, enjoyed his Credit and Reputation in a dangerous Sloth. But CÆSAR, of better Parts and more reserved than Either, was silently laying the Foundation of his own Grandeur on the too great Security of Both. He forgot no Means to preserve their Confidence, whilst, with repeated Presents, he endeavoured to gain those Senators that were the most devoted to them. The Friends of POMPEY and *Crassus* became unwarily CÆSAR'S Creatures : And, that he might know all that was trans-^{Cæsar's} acted within their private Dwellings, he bribed ^{Policy.} even their Freed-men, who could refuse nothing to his liberal Temper.

But as these new Engagements with POMPEY and *Crassus*, the Heads of the Senate, might render him suspected to the People; he was no sooner elected Consul, but he declared himself anew for a Party, which he always thought the most solid Foundation of his future Greatness. The dextrous Manner in which he at one and the same Time created a Difference between POMPEY and the

Cæsar
proposes
the Agra-
rian Law.

Plut. in
Cæsare.

Senate, and between the Senate and the People, was the Master-piece of his Politics and Ability. He undertook to revive the *Lex Agraria*. He foresaw, that the Consent of POMPEY and *Crassus*, which he had before-hand made sure of, and the Opposition of *Cato*, *Cicero*, and all zealous Commonwealth-men, would create reciprocal Enmities amongst them; and that the People, always blind to their true Interest, would declare against those Senators, without being aware that they opposed CÆSAR with no other View than to preserve the public Liberty. It was as Consul that he soon proposed the passing of a Law in the Senate, by which all the Lands of *Campania* should be distributed to twenty thousand such Citizens as had at least three Children. They were Lands, whose Revenue, because of their Fertility, had been always reserved for the most pressing Occasions of the State. The honestest Part of the Senate opposed this Law with all their Might. CÆSAR, who had foreseen this Opposition, immediately cried out, That he took the Gods to Witness, they forced him to have Recourse to the Authority of the People. He accordingly summoned their Assembly, and appeared there accompanied with *Pompey* and *Crassus*. He directed his Speech to *Pompey*; and asked him, Whether he did not approve of a Law so equitable in a Commonwealth, whose Members ought all to share the public Estates? In vain did the Senators about *Pompey* endeavour to make him suspect *Cæsar's* Intentions; *Pompey*, without so much as hearing their Reasons, declared himself of his Opinion: Whether he thought himself obliged in Honour to support his first Engagements, or that, presuming too much on his own Power, compared to *Cæsar's* Credit, he despised the Suspicions of those Senators. He even answered *Cæsar*, with more Warmth than Prudence, *That if any Body offered to oppose this Law with the Sword,*
be

he would take up Sword and Buckler to make it pass.
Which was the same Thing, as declaring War
against his own Party.

POMPEY, by this Answer, so unsuitable to his
own true Interest, made himself odious to the Senate
and suspicious to his own Friends; nor did so im-
prudent a Step gain him an Inch of the People's ^{Cæsar's}
Favour, who thought themselves beholden to No- ^{Agrarian}
body but CÆSAR for proposing this Law. This ^{Law}
Consul, supported by his own Party, by that of ^{passed and}
Pompey and of *Crassus*, made it pass, as it were,
Sword in Hand, and in spite of the Remonstrances
and Opposition of the most zealous Republicans.
Twenty Commissioners were chosen, who shared
the Lands of *Campania* among twenty thousand
Roman Families. These proved hereafter as so many
Clients, whose proper Interest engaged them to
uphold what had been done under his Consulate.
To prevent what his Successors might undertake
against the Disposition of this Law, he got a se-
cond passed, which bound the whole Senate, and
all those that should be raised to any Magistracy,
to take an Oath, that they should never propose
any Thing, that would derogate from what had
been decreed in the Assembly of the People during
his Consulate. It was by so wise a Precaution that
he rendered the Foundation of his Fortune so firm
and durable, that ten Years Absence, and all the
ill Offices of his Enemies, and those that envied
him, could never shake it.

But, as he always feared that POMPEY would ^{Alliance}
give him the Slip, and be gained over again to the ^{between}
Party of the zealous Republicans, he gave him ^{Pompey}
his Daughter *Julia* in Marriage, as a new Pledge ^{and Cæ-}
of their Union. *Pompey* gave his to *Servilius*, and ^{far.}
CÆSAR married *Calpurnia*, the Daughter of *Piso*, ^{Year of}
whom he got nominated Consul for the Year en- ^{Rome,}
suing. He at the same Time took for himself ^{694.}
the Government of *Gaul* and *Illyricum* for five ^{Cæsar Go-}
Years. ^{vernor of}
Gaul.

Years. That of *Syria* was allotted to *Craſſus* at his Deſire, not doubting but he ſhould get new Treasures there; and *POMPEY* obtained that of both *Spains*, which he always governed by his Lieutenants, that he might not be obliged to quit the Luxuries and Pleaſures of *Rome*. They tacked this Division of the Governments to the Law for the Partition of the Lands, thereby to intereſt the Proprietors in maintaining their private Authority.

Thus did theſe three Men ſhare the World among them, as their own Patrimony. In vain did *Cato* remonſtrate in all the Aſſemblies, that it was a Shame the Empire ſhould thus be proſtituted, and the Grandees of *Rome* in a Manner barter away their Daughters, and give them, in Lieu of a Dowry, the Command of Armies, the Government of Provinces, and the higheſt Dignities of the Common-wealth.

*Cæſar puts
Cato un-
der Ar-
reſt; and
his own
Colleague
is driven
out of the
Forum.*

CÆSAR, who was gentle and humane to the Common People, but proud towards the Great who offered to reſiſt him, put *Cato* under Arreſt, pretending that he oppoſed the paſſing of a Law received and approved by the unanimous Conſent of the People. *Bibulus*, *Cæſar*'s Colleague in the Conſulſhip, was driven out of the *Forum* by the People, provoked and enraged at the Oppoſition he made. His Faſces were broke, and his Liſtors wounded. Himſelf narrowly eſcaped being killed, and was forced, for ſaving of his Life, to lie concealed in his own Houſe ſome Time, without daring to appear Abroad. *Lucullus* and *Cicero* met with but little better Treatment. The Vanquiſher of *Tigranes* and *Mitbridates*, threatened by *Cæſar* that he ſhould be called to Account for the immense Treasures he had brought with him from the *Eaſt*, was forced, in order to pacify him, to fall at his Feet in a full Aſſembly, and to retire from public Buſineſs. This laſt was *Cæſar*'s ſecret View, who to remove *Cicero* likewise from the Adminiſtration, whole

*Lucullus
bumbled.*

whose Ability and penetrating Genius he stood in ^{Caesar a-} Fear of, was not ashamed to unite himself with ^{gainst Ci-} *Pub. Clodius*, *Cicero's* declared Enemy, in order to ruin that great Man, and even to raise by his Interest *Clodius* to the Dignity of Tribune of the People, though *Clodius* had a little before been accused ^{Clodius,} of living in Adultery with *Pompeia*, *Caesar's* Wife. ^{Paramour} ^{to Pom-} ^{peia.}

It was this very Accusation, and the Share *Cicero* had in it, which gave Birth to that violent Hatred of *Clodius* against him, though they had before lived in a very strict Friendship. *Publius Clodius* was a very handsome young Man, rich, eloquent, and lov'd by the People, whose Interests he supported; but presumptuous, proud, and insolent on Account of his high Birth, and of the Sway he had in *Rome*. He fell violently in Love with *Pompeia*, *CÆSAR's* Wife, and found the Way to win her. Nothing was wanting to their mutual Desires but an Opportunity, which the Watchfulness and Severity of *Aurelia*, *Caesar's* Mother, rendered almost impossible. *Clodius*, carried away by his Passion, fancy'd he might introduce himself into her House by Favour of a particular Feast to be held that Night in Honour of the Mother of *Bacchus*. Men were excluded out of those Nocturnal Ceremonies. The very Master of the House, wherein they were celebrated, was oblig'd to quit his House; and none but Women or Maids were admitted to those Mysteries, over which they could not cast too thick a Veil. It was commonly the Wife of a Consul, or a Prætor, who officiated as Priestess of that Goddess, whom it was unlawful to name, but who was revered under the Title of *Bona Dea*, the Good Goddess.

Clodius disguised himself in Women's Apparel, ^{Clodius} and in the Night was introduced into the House ^{surpriz'd} of *Aurelia* by a Servant of *Pompeia*, who, in Con- ^{by Cæsar.} cert with her Mistress, managed that Intrigue. The Rendezvous was in the Chamber of that

very Servant, who had hid *Clodius* there, while she went to acquaint *POMPEIA* with the Arrival of her Lover. But as she tarried too long, whether he was impatient, or perhaps desirous to know what where the Mysteries of the Feast among those Women, he came out of his lurking-Hole. As ill Luck would have it, he lost his Way, and chanc'd to meet another Servant-Maid of the Family, who taking him for a Maid, propos'd, as *Plutarch* expresses it, to play with her. *Clodius* try'd to shun it; but the Servant, who in this Bacchanal-Feast was seiz'd with a kind of Fury, endeavour'd to pull him towards a Place where she saw some Light, that she might know who was the She that so unkindly denied her. *Clodius*, to save himself from her Hands, told her he was one of the Singing-women that had been hired for the Feast, and that he was looking for *Abra*, *Pompeia's* Servant. The Sound of his Voice betray'd him, and discovered his Sex. The Maid frightned, runs to *Aurelia*, and acquaints her, that she has found a Man in the House in Women's Cloaths. An End is immediately put to the Ceremonies; the Mysteries are very hastily cover'd over; *Aurelia* orders the Doors to be locked; a Search is made, and the Criminal found. *Cæsar's* Mother, after having upbraided him with his Insolence and Impiety, made him go out; and the next Morning early, she gave Notice to the Senate of what had happened in the Night in her House. The whole Town was scandaliz'd at it. The Women, above all, flew out into a violent Passion against *Clodius*; and a Tribune summoned him to appear before the People, and took upon him to prosecute this Affair. This Magistrate flattered himself that he should be seconded by *Cæsar*. He thought that a Husband would not refuse to join his Resentment against a young insolent Fellow convicted of an unlawful Amour with his own Wife. It is certain,

Clodius

summoned.

certain, that in the ordinary Way of the World, *Cæsar* could not avoid declaring himself against the Offender; but it was no less his Interest, in the present Circumstances of Affairs, not to fall out with *Clodius*, who had great Power among the People. To make himself easy in so difficult a Point, without wounding his Honour or his Interest, he contented himself with putting away his Wife. *Pompeia* The Tribune, after this Step, having summoned *repudi-* him in an Assembly of the People to declare, if he *ated.* was not certain, that *Clodius* had prophaned the Mysteries of the *Bona Dea*; *Cæsar* answered him coldly, That he knew nothing of the Matter. *Why then,* replied the Tribune, *have you parted with your Wife? Because,* said he, *Cæsar's Wife should not be so much as suspected.* With this cunning Answer he evaded prosecuting *Clodius*; and would at the same Time insinuate, that he was convinced his Wife had been more imprudent in this Affair than criminal.

Clodius, having nothing now to fear from *Cæsar's* *Cicero* Resentment, among the several Things he pleaded *deposes* in his Defence, maintain'd, that *Aurelia* had mi- *against* staken him for another; and offered to prove, that *Clodius.* on the very Night of the Feast he was out of *Rome*, and at too great a Distance to be able to return that Night, whatever Speed he could have made. But *Cicero* rose, and in full Assembly declar'd, that he came to his House that Evening, and had discoursed with him on several Heads. It is affirmed that *Cicero* witness'd this, less out of a religious Concern, than out of Complaisance to *Terentia* his Wife, who took this Opportunity of creating a Misunderstanding between him and *Clodius*, whose Sister she fear'd he would marry, after having set her aside; it being reported that she was not indifferent to him. But whatever might move him to this, his Evidence did not prevail over *Clodius's* Credit, nor over the Money he gave to his Judges.

The

The Criminal was acquitted; and he had no sooner got clear of so dangerous an Affair, but he meditated which Way he should be revenged of *Cicero*.

Clodius
Tribune of
the People.

The Office of Tribune of the People seem'd to him a Magistracy that would enable him to signalize his Hatred with Impunity: But he was a *Patrician* by Birth, and, by the Laws, that Office could not be possessed by any but *Plebeians*. To remove this Obstacle, he got himself adopted into a *Plebeian* Family, by *M. Fonteius*. By Means of this Adoption, and the Credit he had in *Rome*, he easily obtain'd a Place in the Tribunate.

Year of
Rome,
695.

To render himself more popular still, he began the Exercise of his Office by proposing new Laws, all in favour of the *Plebeians*. He at the same Time brought *Piso* and *Gambinius*, the two Consuls for that Year, over to his Interest by good Management. That they might not cross him in his Project of Revenge against *Cicero*, he procur'd for them the Government of the two richest Provinces in the Common-wealth. After having thus taken these different Measures as well with regard to the People as to the Senate, he applied himself to the gaining of *Crassus*, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, who, by an Interest at that Time superior to all his Contrivances and Cabals, might have snatched his Victim from him. But he found those Grandees, who might be called the Sovereigns of *Rome*, already disposed to concur with him in his Resentment. *Crassus* had actually fallen out with *Cicero*; *Cæsar*, since *Catiline's* Affair, wished him no better; and *Pompey*, then united with *Cæsar*, and besides always a weak Friend, was not capable of undertaking the Defence of a Man against whom *Cæsar* preserved a secret Spite.

Crassus,
Cæsar
and Pom-
pey fa-
vour Clo-
dus.

Plut. in
Cæs. &
Ciceron.
App. l. 2.
de Bell.
Civ. c. 4.
Cicero
accused,
goes into
Exile.

Clodius, having taken those Measures, impeach'd *Cicero* before the Assembly of the People, for having put *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the other Accomplices of *Catiline*, to death, contrary to all Laws
and

and without so much as consulting the People, who were the natural Judges of all Citizens in Criminal Matters. Though *Cicero* had done nothing but what the Senate agreed to, he easily perceiv'd, that without a powerful Protection he should hardly escape *Clodius's* Fury during the Year of his Tribunate. He first went to *Cæsar*, and entreated that he might follow him into *Gaul*, as one of his Lieutenants. *Cæsar*, who desired no better Thing than to have him out of the Senate and the Administration, readily consented. *Clodius*, perceiving that that Employment, together with the Absence of *Cicero*, would oblige him to stop his Proceedings against him, feign'd himself dispos'd to a Reconciliation. He sent him Word by some common Friends, that he was not averse to live again in Amity with him, and was conscious, that his Wife *Terentia* had been the chief Occasion of his giving that Evidence against him in the Affair of *Pompeia*.

Cicero, allur'd by those vain Hopes of a speedy Agreement, thank'd *Cæsar* for his Employment, return'd to the Senate, and follow'd public Business again. But *Cæsar*, who had resolv'd, whatever it cost, to have him out, incens'd at this Change, united with *Clodius* in the Pursuit of his Ruin; and he made *Pompey* promise that he should no Ways intermeddle in this Affair in Behalf of *Cicero*. *Clodius* hereupon resum'd his Impeachment. *Cicero*, seeing himself in so much Danger, chang'd his Habit; and having let his Beard and his Hair grow, went about to solicit the Assistance of his Friends, and the Protection of the Gracians of *Rome*, being attended with a great Number of Knights. The Senate, mov'd at the Wrong that was doing to so worthy a Man, whom they regarded as one of the principal Ornaments of their Body, were for going into Mourning as for a public Calamity: But the Consuls, brib'd by *Clodius*,

dius, opposed it; himself, attended with an insolent Band of arm'd Slaves, kept the Senate as it were besieg'd; so that they could not take any Resolution to *Cicero's* Advantage.

That great Man, prosecuted by a Mad-man, and an implacable Enemy, had Recourse to *Pompey*, to whom he had done considerable Services in all Things relating to the Government, and who ow'd him most of the Employments which were conferr'd on him by the Votes of the People.

Pompey, no Ways ignorant of *Clodius's* Designs, was retir'd to his Country-Seat, that he might not be expos'd to the Reproaches of his not stirring in Behalf of his Friend, if he had stay'd in *Rome*. *Cicero* at first sent his Son-in-Law *Piso* to him, who brought nothing back from him but such equivocal and evasive Answers, which the Great alone know so well how to make, to excuse themselves from granting what they cannot openly refuse, without disgracing themselves. *Cicero* flattered himself, that if he went in Person, he should have better Luck; he went himself therefore to his House. *Pompey*, knowing himself incapable of bearing his Presence, and yet resolving not to break his Word with *Cæsar*, went out at a back Door, and caused him to be told, that he was return'd to *Rome*. *Cicero*, no longer doubting that he was abandon'd by him, did in a Manner abandon himself; and that Man, so eloquent, so powerful by the Force of his Rhetoric, and the Strength of his Arguments, when he pleaded the Cause of other People, despaired of saving himself, and wanted Words to justify an Action, that had been applauded by the whole Senate, and praised by the unanimous Voice of the People. He banished himself, quitted *Rome* in the Night, and retired into *Greece*. *Clodius*, having reduced him to that Extremity, got the Decree of his Banishment pass'd. By the same Decree, that furious Tribune,

bune, who had drawn it up, obtained that his City and Country-Houses should be pulled down to the Ground, and his Goods sold by Auction by the common Ministers of Justice; which he saw executed soon after, that he might leave Monuments of his Resentment and Power.

Clodius, having forced *Cicero* to fly, thought himself sole and absolute Master of the Government. He even presumed to attack *Pompey* himself, and proposed in the Assembly of the People, to inspect the Conduct of that great Commander, during the Wars in the *East*. But he soon perceived that his Power was founded only as it were on a borrowed Credit; and that of himself he could not have accomplished *Cicero's* Ruin, if some powerful Cabals, of which he fancied himself the Chief, tho' but the Instrument and Minister, had not concurred with him in that Affair.

Pompey, attacked in so sensible a Part, forgot his secret Engagements with *CÆSAR*, and resolved to procure *Cicero's* Restoration, to oppose him to *Clodius*. This was the Occasion of new Broils; they even came to Blows; but *Pompey's* Party proved so strong, that *Clodius* was forced to yield, and the Senate put an End to those Disputes by one bold Action: They suspended all Courts of Justice, and made a Decree, which forbade the Magistrates taking Cognizance of any Affair whatever, till the Re-call of *Cicero* had first been decreed. That great Man returned to his own Country, after sixteen Months Banishment. The Cities through which he passed paid him an uncommon Respect; and he says himself, *That he was brought back again to Rome as it were in the Arms of the Inhabitants of all Italy*. His whole Journey was one continual Triumph. When he came near *Rome*, the Gracchi, the Knights, the People, all went out to meet him; and the Senate ordered by a Public Decree, That his Houses, which *Clodius* had caused

Clodius attacks Pompey.

The Honours paid to Cicero upon his being recalled.
Plut. in *Cicer.*
App. l. 2. c. 45.

Year of Rome, 696.
Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 45.

to be pulled down, should be rebuilt at the public Charge.

CÆSAR, who unbosomed himself but little in those Cabals, saw *Cicero's* Restoration, without offering to hinder it, and seemed at that Time entirely taken up with the Affairs of his Government.

*Cæsar's
Authority
increases.*

The Consuls, at the Expiration of their Office, had usually the Government of some of the Provinces conferred on them; and CÆSAR, as we have already observed, did, in Concert with *Pompey* and *Crassus*, procure for himself the Government of *Gallia Cisalpine*, which was not far from *Rome*. *Vatinius*, a Tribune of the People, and CÆSAR's Creature, procured to be added to CÆSAR's last mentioned Government, that of *Illyricum*, together with *Gallia Transalpina*; that is to say, *Provence*, and part of *Dauphiné* and *Languedoc*, which CÆSAR coveted extremely, that he might thence carry his Arms farther; and which the very Senate agreed to, because they did not think their Interest strong enough to refuse him.

*His Ex-
ploits in
Gaul.*

CÆSAR had chosen those Provinces as a Field of Battle fit to acquire him a great Name. He looked on the Conquest of all *Gaul* as on an Object worthy of his great Courage and Valour; and flattered himself at the same Time he should there amass great Treasures, still more necessary to support his Credit at *Rome*, than to bear the Expences of the War. He set out for the Conquest of *Gaul*, at the Head of four Legions; and *Pompey* lent him another afterwards, which he spared him from the Army which he had under his Command, as Governor of *Spain* and *Lybia*. CÆSAR's Wars, his Battles and Victories, are unknown to Nobody. He triumph'd within the Space of ten Years over the *Helvetians*, whom he forced to shut themselves up among their Mountains: He attacked and defeated *Ariovistus*, King of the *Almains*, whom he made War upon, tho' that Prince had been admitted among the

the Allies of the *Roman* People. He afterwards made the *Belgæ* yield to his Laws; he conquered all *Gaul*; and the *Romans*, under his Conduct, crossed the Sea, and for the first Time set up their Eagles in *Great-Britain*. It is said, that he either took by Force eight hundred Cities, or made them yield to the Terror of his Arms; that he subdued three hundred different Nations; that he defeated in several different Battles three Millions of Men, of which one Million were killed in the Field, and another Million made Prisoners; Circumstances which would seem to us exorbitant and magnified, if he had not for Vouchers *Plutarch*, and other Historians, both *Romans* and *Greeks* too who have written of *Roman* Affairs.

It is certain, that the Common-wealth had never seen a greater Captain, if we examine his Conduct in the Command of Armies, his uncommon Valour in Fight, and the moderate Use he made of his Victories. But these great Qualifications were tarnished by his immoderate Ambition, and an insatiable Desire of accumulating Riches, which he took to be the surest Instrument to bring his great Designs to a desired Issue. The Moment he arrived in *Gaul*, every Thing in his Camp was venal; Places, Governments, Wars, Alliances; he made a Trade of every Thing. He plundered the Temples of the Gods, and the Lands of the Allies. All that tended to the Increase of his Power, seemed just and honourable to him; and *Cicero* relates, that he had frequently these Lines of *Euripides* in his Mouth: *If Right is to be violated, it is only for the Sake of Empire; but in Matters of less Consequence, Men cannot be too observant of Justice.* The Senate, intent upon his Conduct, designed to call him to an Account, and sent Commissioners as far as *Gaul*, to know the Causes of Complaint of their Allies. *Cato*, upon the Return of those Commissioners, proposed to deliver him up to *Ariovistus*, not only to

His Ambition and Avarice.

shew that the Common-wealth disapproved of his unjust Wars, but likewise by that Means to bring down upon his single Head the celestial Vengeance for Faith violated. But the Splendor of his Victories, the Affection of the People, and the Money he had distributed among the Senators, insensibly changed those Complaints into Praises. His Robberies were construed for political Actions; the Gods were thanked in a solemn Manner for his Sacrileges; and great Vices became great Virtues, because they proved successful.

*Cæsar idolized by the
Soldiery.*

CÆSAR owed these Successes to his uncommon Valour, and the passionate Love his Soldiers bore him. They adored him, they followed him in the greatest Dangers with that entire Confidence which is extremely honourable to a General; and those, who under other Commanders would have fought but feebly, showed under him an invincible Courage; and by his Example, became so many *Cæsars*. He had engaged them to his Person and his Fortune by that unwearied Care he took of their Subsistence, and by magnificent Presents. He doubled their Pay; and the Corn, that used to be measured out to them by *Rations* (or stinted Allowances) was given them without Measure. To the *Veterans* he assigned Lands and Possessions. It seemed as if he was but the Steward of the vast Riches he was acquiring every Day; and that he saved them with no other View, than to make them the Price of Valour, and the Reward of Merit. He even used to pay the Debts of his principal Officers; and gave to understand to such as stood engaged for large Sums, that they should never be in any Danger from their Creditors, as long as they followed his Colours. Soldiers and Officers, all of them grounded the Hopes of their Fortune on the Generosity and Protection of their General; by which Means the Soldiers of the Common-wealth insensibly became the Soldiers of CÆSAR.

*His Credit,
Interest
and
Wealth.*

He was not only intent upon gaining the Army. From the remotest Parts of *Gaul*, he extended his Eyes

Eyes to the public Administration at *Rome*, and was in a Manner present in all the *Comitia* and Assemblies of the People. Nothing was transacted there without his Privy. His Credit and Money influenced most Deliberations of the Senate. He had in both those Assemblies powerful Friends and Creatures entirely devoted to his Interest. He supplied them with Money in abundance, either to pay their Debts, or to raise themselves to the chief Offices in the Common-wealth. It was with these Sums that he bought not only their Votes, but their very Liberty. *Emilius Paulus*, being Consul, got of him upwards of nine hundred thousand Crowns, for not opposing his Designs during his Consulate. He gave still more to *Curio*, a Tribune of the People, a Man of a violent and factious Spirit, but artful and eloquent, who had sold him his Faith, but who, to serve him more effectually, concealed his secret Obligations and Engagements, affecting in all he did, to act only for the Good of the People.

Pompey's Friends made him reflect seriously on the Conduct of *Cæsar*, and represented to him the Danger which threatened the Common-wealth. *Pompey* surprized, could not help blushing, when he perceived that he had been over-reached by a Man, whose Abilities proved greater than his own; and that he had perhaps given himself a Master, whilst he only intended to favour his Father-in-law and his Friend. He thereupon resolved to undo what he conceived to be his own Work, and to subvert *Cæsar's* Fortune. He flattered himself, that, being Master of the Senate, nothing could withstand him. *Cæsar*, on his Part, grounded his Hopes on a victorious Army and the Affection of the People.

The Jealousy of the Command, and a mutual Emulation of Glory, made them soon perceive that they were Enemies, though still preserving all

the outward Appearances of their former Union. But *Crassus*, who by his Credit and immense Riches ballanced the Power of both, being slain in the *Parthian* War, they found themselves at Liberty to declare their Sentiments openly. And the Death of *Julia*, *Cæsar's* Daughter, and *Pompey's* Wife, which fell out soon afterwards, put an End to what little Friendship remained betwixt the Father and Son-in-law.

*State of
Rome in
the Begin-
ning of the
Troubles.*

Rome was then in a prodigious Disorder: Bribery and Venality of Places were no longer concealed. Those that stood Candidates brought their Money openly to the Place of Election. It was without Shame distributed among the Heads of Factions; and those who had received it, employed Force and Violence rather than the Number of Votes, to cause them to be elected, who had thus paid them: So that scarce any Office was bestowed, but what had been disputed Sword in Hand, and had cost the Lives of many Citizens. Both Parties proving of equal Force, separated often without coming to any Choice: And this Disorder increased so much, that *Rome* was once eight Months without Magistrates. *Pompey* was suspected to keep up that Confusion in the Government, in order to center the whole Authority in himself. His Creatures, favouring his ambitious Designs, expressed in their Speeches an Abhorrence of that untamed Licentiousness that reigned in all the Elections. Several, to found the Bottom of Peoples Hearts, said, That a Monarchial State was preferable to a Common-wealth which was degenerated into a mere Anarchy: That they must at least have recourse to a Dictator; and that in a Choice, now become necessary, they ought to put themselves under the Direction of the tenderest Physician; by which they cunningly pointed out *Pompey*, without naming him. The Affair was pushed on with so much Warmth by his Adherents, that

that the Senate seemed disposed to confer upon him that high Office, which differed from Royalty only by being limited, and of a shorter Duration. But *Cato*, who was always watchful over the public Liberty, having penetrated *Pompey's* Designs, and fearing lest with the great Power he had, he might make himself perpetual Dictator, insinuated to the Senate, That it would be more proper to chuse him sole Consul without a Colleague. He proposed this, to preserve yet some Image of a Common-wealth; because a Consul was bound, when called upon, to give an Account of his Conduct to the People and the Senate, which a Dictator was exempted from.

The Senate approved the Expedient proposed *Pompey* by *Cato*: *Pompey* was elected sole Consul. They ^{sole Consul.} at the same Time continued him in his Governments, and in the Command of those Armies that obey'd him before; and they gave him Leave to take a thousand Talents annually out of the Treasury for their Pay. He soon after married *Cornelia*, Daughter of *Metellus Pius*; and though the Consulate had been conferred on him without a Colleague, he associated his Father-in-law into that Dignity for the five last Months which remain'd of his Consulship. Which Moderation rendred him still dearer to the Senate.

Cæsar took hence an Opportunity to ask in his *Cæsar de-* Turn the Consulate, and the Continuation of his ^{manding} Governments. *Pompey* did not oppose him; but ^{the Consu-} *Marcellus* and *Lentulus*, at his Instigation, being ^{late, is re-} his Creatures, alledged, with a Design to exclude *Cæsar*, That the Laws did not allow to admit any absent Person among the Candidates.

Pompey's View in starting this Obstacle, was to engage *Cæsar* to abandon the Government of *Gaul* and the Command of his Army, to come in Person to solicit the Consulate. But *Cæsar*, who saw through the Artifice, chose to remain at the

Head of his Forces; and it is reported, that when he heard the Cabal of his Adversaries had prevailed to have his Desires rejected, he said, laying his Hand upon his Sword, *This shall obtain me what they so unjustly refuse me.* Others attribute this Answer to one of his principal Officers, whom he had sent from the Army to demand that Dignity for him.

*Measures
concerted
to weaken
Cæsar's
Interest.*

The Senate, who acted no longer but according to the Impressions of *Cæsar's* Enemies, ordained, That two Legions should be dra ghted out of the Troops under his and *Pompey's* Command, under Pretence of sending them into *Syria* against the *Partbians*, who were said to threaten that Province with an Incurfion since *Crassus's* Defeat. *Pompey*, to weaken *Cæsar's* Army, sent to demand that Legion back, which he had lent him. *Appius Claudius* was sent on that Commiffion. Though *Cæsar* readily penetrated his Enemies Designs, yet he delivered those two Legions to the Envoy of the Senate. He loaded the Officers with Presents, and caused two hundred and fifty Drachma's (about four Pounds *Sterling*) to be distributed to every private Soldier, as a Recompence for their Services. But as all that had been given out concerning the Designs of the *Partbians*, was only a Pretence made use of to weaken *Cæsar's* Army, and draw two Legions from it, those Troops were no sooner arriv'd in *Italy*, but they had Quarters assigned them in *Campania*, and near *Capua*, instead of being sent to the *East*.

Appius, at his Return, did *Cæsar* a considerable Piece of Service, though contrary to his Intention. This Man, to flatter *Pompey's* Ambition, told him, that the whole Army in *Gaul* wished him their General; and that the Soldiers, suspecting *Cæsar* aimed at Monarchy, were resolved to desert him, as soon as he had brought them back into *Italy*.

Pompey,

Pompey, seduced by this false Representation, neglected the Precautions that were necessary against an Enemy, who commanded a powerful Army: and when the chief Men of his Party, amazed to see him lull'd asleep in a deceitful Security, represented to him, how much it import'd him to strengthen himself with new Levies, he answer'd them proudly, *That he needed only stamp with his Foot on the Ground, and thence he could make arm'd Legions arise.* He spoke with so much Confidence only because he flattered himself, that if it came to an open Rupture, Part of *Cæsar's* Army would desert to him. However, as he fear'd the Fortune and Valour of that great Commander, he endeavour'd to have him out of the Government of *Gaul*, without coming to an open Rupture. He concerted Measures with the Senate to nominate his Successor. The Affair was put to Consideration: Every Body agreed, That the Time of his Commission being near expired, it was just to send some Senator to *Gaul*, who should take on him the Government of that Province, and the Command of the Army there. *Curio*, a Tribune of the People, who would seem to adhere to neither Party, though secretly devoted to *Cæsar*, declared himself for the general Sentiments of the Senators, to whom he paid great Compliments upon the same. But he added, That to secure the public Liberty, it was likewise necessary, that *Pompey* should at the same Time disband the Armies under his Command, and quit the Governments of *Spain* and *Lybia*. *Pompey's* Friends replied to this, That the Time of his Commission was not at an End, as *Cæsar's* was. But *Pompey* himself answer'd, That he had taken those Employments only out of Respect to the Senate's Commands; and was ready to lay them down, without waiting till the Time allow'd by the Laws should be expired. He promised to be his own Deposer; and in order to
determine

determine the Senate to give that Moment a Successor to *Cæsar*, he added with a seeming Candor, That he was thoroughly informed of his Intentions; and that, as his Friend and Relation, he could assure them, That that great General, wearied with a ten Years War against the most Warlike Nations of the Earth, coveted nothing more than to taste the Sweets of a peaceable Life in his own Native Country.

*Curio's
Craft
against
Pompey.*

Curio, who discerned all the Artifice of this Speech, and saw that *Pompey* had spoken so positively about *Cæsar's* Sentiments, with no other View, than to obtain that his Successor should be named; answered, It was not sufficient he should promise to quit his Governments; it behoved he should do it that very Instant: That they were both too powerful, and the Interest of the Commonwealth requir'd, both should become private Men at the same Time. He concluded, it was his Opinion, That unless they did both at the same Time quit the Command of their Armies, they both should be declared Enemies of the Commonwealth.

Curio had no other Design, in pressing so warmly their mutual Abdication, but to conceal his secret Inclination to *Cæsar's* Interest; and he did it the more readily, because he was very well informed, *Pompey* could never resolve to quit his Governments; and although he had done it, and *Cæsar* should likewise have been obliged to quit the Command of his Army, *Curio* was very sensible by how many Ties *Cæsar* had bound his Officers and Soldiers to his Fortune; and that it would not be difficult for him to lift those Troops anew under his Colours, which were secretly kept in his Pay.

*Fear of
Rome,
704.
Marcel-
lus's sub-
tle Arti-
fices a-
gainst
Cæsar.*

This Tribune not having got his Opinion to prevail, broke up the Senate according to the Power of his Office. The Consuls, *C. Claudius*, *Marcellus*, and *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, summoned it together

together again a few Days after. *Marcellus*, first Consul, and an open Adherent of *Pompey*, took a particular Method to get him continued in his Governments. He put the Questions about *Cæsar* and *Pompey* separately: And the first Question was, Whether the Senators thought reasonable, that *Pompey* should lay down the Authority where-with the Senate had invested him? The Majority was for the Negative. He then told the Votes concerning *Cæsar*, after having put the Question, Whether it was their Opinion to give *Cæsar* a Successor? To which all unanimously consented. But *Curio*, though he was not then a Tribune, having put the Question, Whether the Senate did not think it yet more adviseable, that both should quit the Command of their Armies? After telling the Voices, they found three hundred and seventy for the Affirmative; against, no more than twenty-two, who obstinately retained their Opinion, That *Pompey* only should keep the Command of his Forces.

Marcellus, ashamed and angry to see his Party reduced to so small a Number, cried out with much Warmth, *Well then, let Cæsar be your Master, since you will have it so.* Upon which some of his Friends having added, to intimidate the Senate, That *Cæsar* was come on this Side the *Alps*, and was marching at the Head of his whole Army strait for *Rome*, and *Curio* having showed the Importance of that News; the Consul, enraged that he could not bring the Senate into his own Opinion, went out abruptly, saying, That since he was hindred in his Care of the Common-wealth, he would apply such Remedies to the impending Ruin, as he should think most fitting according to the Power of his Office. Thence he went with his Colleague *Lentulus*, a little Way out of Town, to a House where *Pompey* was; and presenting him a Sword, he said, speaking in the Name of both,

We

*Rash Ex-
pression
and Action
of Mar-
cellus.*

We command you to march against Cæsar, and to fight for the Defence of our Native Country. Pompey declared, that he would obey them; and added with a feigned Modesty, Unless a more happy Expedient be first found out.

*Cæsar's
politick
Management.*

Cæsar, informed of all the Transactions at Rome, that he might always have the Appearance of Justice on his Side, wrote several Times to the Senate with a great deal of Temper, and as desiring Peace. He required, either they should continue him in his Government, as they had granted Pompey; or that he might be allowed to put up for the Consulate, though absent from Rome. He afterwards renewed Curio's Proposal, insisting, that Pompey and he should at the same Time quit their Governments and Command of the Armies. But the Senators, who for the greatest part favoured Pompey, having rejected all those Proposals, Cæsar fell so low as only to demand, that the Government of *Illyrium* and the Command of two Legions should be continued to him; which however it is probable, he would never have proposed, if he had believed they would have granted it him. But he was very well apprized, that the contrary Party had resolved to disarm him entirely; and indeed they rejected every one of his Proposals. Marcellus, first Consul, and entirely devoted to Pompey, naturally proud and haughty, said, It was shameful to the Common-wealth to treat with one of her Subjects, while he was yet in Arms. And Lentulus, his Colleague, over-loaded with Debts, and who could not stand it but by Favour of the public Disturbances, was not sorry that a Civil War should happen, because he might make himself considerable, and amass great Riches, if his Party prevailed.

*Cæsar
passes the
Alps; his
Menaces.*

Cæsar, who rightly foresaw the Success of this Negotiation, passed the *Alps* at the Head of the third Legion, and halted at *Ravenna*. He sent immediately

immediately to *Rome*, *Fabius*, one of his Lieutenants, with Letters for the Senate. He therein began with a lofty Relation of all his great Exploits; and begged that some Regard should be had to his Services. He next protested, that he was ready to quit the Command jointly with *Pompey*; but if that General pretended to keep it, he on his Part should know how to maintain himself at the Head of his Legions: That he even designed to be at *Rome* in a few Days, to revenge his private Injuries, and those that were done to his Country.

These last threatening Words raised the whole Senate against him. *Lentulus* said, it was useless to deliberate upon a Letter which contained a Declaration of War; and added, in a violent Passion, there was more occasion to take up Arms, than to count the Votes concerning so great a Robber as *Cæsar*. *Lucius Domitius* was instantly appointed his Successor, and they gave him four thousand new Levies to enable him to go and take Possession of his Government. Then they formed the Decree of the Senate, as dictated by the most declared Enemies of *Cæsar*. It was therein ordained, That he should within such a Time disband his Army; and, if he refused to obey, That he should be prosecuted as an Enemy of the Commonwealth. To no Purpose did *Marc. Anthony*, then Tribune, backed by *Curio* and *Cassius*, endeavour, by virtue of their Office, to oppose this Decree: The Consuls, provoked at their Opposition, drove them forcibly out of the Senate. *Pompey* himself had sent secretly for Soldiers to insult 'em. *Anthony*, before he left the Senate, cried out, That the Tribunitian Dignity, which hitherto had been kept sacred, was no longer secure from Insult; but that he foresaw, that such violent Proceedings were only the Prelude of bloody Wars, Proscriptions and Murders. And at going off, he made horrible Imprecations against such as were the Cause of those Disasters:

Decree against
Cæsar.

Plut. in
Cæsar.

The Tribunes being driven out of the Senate, go to Cæsar.

Disasters: And these three Senators, after having disguised themselves like Slaves for fear of being known, made all the Haste they could to *Cæsar's* Camp.

*The War
begins.*

The Decree of the Senate was like a Declaration of War. Two powerful Parties were seen to take up Arms, both pretending to do it for the Defence of the Laws and Liberty; but whose Chiefs had no other but a secret View to establish their own Power, and to destroy that Liberty and those very Laws. *Pompey's* Party had something more of a specious Outside: He covered himself with the awful Name of the Common-wealth, which acknowledged him for her General; and the whole Senate together with the Consuls followed his Ensigns. *Cæsar* had on his Side the Hearts of the People, supported by a victorious Army; and if *Pompey's* Party had a greater Appearance of Justice, that of his Rival was the most powerful and the securest.

The Senate flattered themselves, that *Cæsar* could not have drawn his Forces so soon from the remotest Part of *Gaul*, where they were quartered in different Provinces; and that before they had passed the *Alps*, *Pompey* would have a considerable Army on Foot. But *Cæsar*, whose Foresight and Activity were matchless, resolved to prevent his Enemies by the Suddenness and Boldness of his March. He was already at *Ravenna*, as we have said. He immediately sent a secret Order to such of his Troops as were the nearest, to advance towards the *Rubicon*, a small River that parted his Government of *Gallia Cisalpina* from the rest of *Italy*.

He himself set out in the Evening, marched all Night with uncommon Diligence, and arrived at the Place appointed by Break of Day, where he found about five thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. He halted a while on the Bank of that little River. He was uneasy about the Success of his Undertaking, and all the Evils and Disasters of a Civil-war presented themselves at

once to his Mind. *Cæsar*, brought up in the Bosom of a Common-wealth, could not, as he drew near to *Rome*, look on the approaching Ruin of his Country without being concerned. He had hitherto thought himself sure of a Firmness of Soul, or rather an Insensibility, which he could not without the greatest Difficulty attain; and Liberty, ready to fall by his Arm, gave him some Remorse. *If Plut. in I put off any longer the crossing of this River, (said he Cæf. App. l. 2. to the chief Officers about him) I am undone; and if do cross it, how many People shall I make wretched!* But, after having reflected on the Hatred and Inveteracy of his Enemies, and his own Strength, he throws himself into the River, and crosses it, saying, (what is common upon doubtful and dangerous Undertakings;) *It is done: The Die is thrown.* He immediately marched with all the Speed that it was possible to do with a Body of Infantry. He ^{Cæsar} arrives before *Rimini*, surprizes the Place, and <sup>takes Ri-
mini.</sup> makes himself Master of it.

It is impossible to express the Terror and Fear all *Italy* and *Rome* itself was in, upon the News of the taking of that Place: They fancied this dreaded Captain already at the Gates of the City, with all the Forces he commanded in *Gaul*. The Senate met several Times, without coming to any Resolution; their Minds were too fluctuating and divided. Several Senators, without proposing any Thing themselves, only contradicted the Advice of others; and in those tumultuous Assemblies, nothing was agreed on but what proved impossible to execute. *Pompey* was not without Uneasiness in ^{Pompey} this Confusion. He had neither Troops, nor a ^{perplexed.} Place of Retreat, and was obliged to bear with the Reproaches of most Part of the Senate, who complained, that he had suffered himself to be lulled asleep by *Cæsar's* Letters, and the deceitful Show he made of desiring Peace. *Cato* himself told him, that he could not deny but he had warned

Plut. in
Pomp.

warned him often, that the secret Designs of *Cæsar* were to make himself sole Master of the Government. *I own*, (replied *Pompey*) *that you knew him better than I: You unravelled his true Sentiments as they were in reality; but as for me, I have hitherto judged of them only by what I thought they should be.* Every Senator thought himself privileged to make him Reproaches, and to advise him. He met with Opposition on all Sides, and this filled his Mind with Fear and Suspicions. The very People now refused Obedience to their Magistrates; and every Man set up for the Arbiter of his Duty, under Pretence of providing for his own Safety.

Pompey
leaves
Rome.
Dion.
l. 41.

Pompey, in this Confusion, seeing himself in *Rome* without Troops, and fearing, if he should arm the People, they would declare against him in Favour of *Cæsar*, resolved to carry the Seat of the War farther, and to go to *Apulia*, where the two Legions were encamped, which *Cæsar* had surrendered to *Appius*. He remonstrated to the Senate, that he should not be long in want of Soldiers, if they would but follow him out of *Rome*, and even out of *Italy*, in case he could not maintain himself there: That true *Romans* ought to think any Country theirs, where they could preserve their Liberty: That the Common-wealth had two Legions near *Capua*, two more in *Thes-saly*: And that *Petreibus* and *Afranius*, his Lieutenants in *Spain*, were at the Head of a powerful Army, entirely made up of Veterans, who were no Ways inferior to those of *Cæsar*, either for Courage or Experience, besides the Troops dispersed in the different Provinces of *Asia*, and *Africa*, and the Succours that might be expected from the Kings in Alliance with the *Roman* State. The Consuls, and a great Number of Senators, all Friends or Creatures of *Pompey*, generously resolved to follow his Fortune. They left *Rome* in

the Evening very hastily: However dismal this Departure was, which distanc'd them from their Native Country, and was going to separate them from their Wives and Children, they consider'd *Rome*, where they could not maintain themselves, to be no other than *Cæsar's* Camp.

It was not long indeed, before he made him-^{Cæsar in} self Master of it; and he was received there by ^{Rome.} his Adherents, and by all the People, with a gene-^{D. H.} ral Applause. As in a Civil-war, Money is no ^{id. ibid.} less necessary than Arms, he seized on the Public Treasure, in Spite of *Metellus*, Tribune of the People, who offered to hinder it: He even threatened to kill him, if he did not retire. And having taken thence four thousand one hundred and thirty Pound Weight of Gold, and eighty thousand Pound Weight of Silver, which makes near two hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, he put himself in a Condition to march after POMPEY and his Followers: But that General of the Senate, who was resolved to draw the War into Length, to have Time to gather more Forces, Pompey passed over from *Italy* into *Epirus*, and taking ^{goes into} Shipping at *Brundisium*, he arrived in the Port of ^{Epirus.} *Dyrrachium* (*Durazzo*, a Port of *Albania*.) ^{Year of} *Cæsar*, ^{Rome,} not being able to overtake him, made himself ^{705.} Master of all *Italy* in less than two Months. The ^{D. H. l.} Detail and particular Events of the Civil-war do ^{41. App.} not belong to my Purpose: It is known, that the ^{l. 2.} Empire cost *Cæsar* in a Manner but one Hour's ^{Plut. in} Time, since the Battle of *Pharsalia* decided the ^{Cæsar.} whole Matter. The Death of *Pompey*, soon after ^{Pomp.} killed in *Egypt*, compleated the Fall of his Party. ^{Cicer.} The Activity of *Cæsar*, and Rapidity of his Vic- ^{Cæsar.} tories, gave no Time to cross him in his Designs. ^{Civ. Bell.} War carried him into different Climates; Victory ^{l. 1. & 2.} followed him almost every where; and Glory ^{Florus.} never forsook him: His Moderation and Clemency ^{Eutrop.} ^{Vellei.} ^{Sueton.} ^{Zonaras.}

disarmed his Enemies quite ; and tho' educated by his Uncle *Marius*, he retained of him neither that obstinate Hatred, nor that cruel Desire of Revenge, which made that former Chief of a Party spill so much Blood.

*Clemency
of Cæsar
when vic-
torious.*

Cæsar, either more humane or more artful, always sacrificed his private Resentments to the establishing of his Command. He forgave all *Pompey's* Adherents. Nay, there were several whom he did not use otherwise than even his best Friends, when it came to the distributing of Places and Dignities in the Empire. All from that Time gave Way to his Power ; and two Years after his passing the *Rubicon*, he entered *Rome*, Master of the whole World, and triumphant over all his Enemies.

*Cæsar,
perpetual
Dictator.*

The Senate, after his Return, decreed him extraordinary Honours, and an unlimited Authority, which left the Common-wealth but a Shadow of Liberty. He was appointed Consul for ten Years, and perpetual Dictator. They gave him the Name of *Imperator*, and the August Title of *Father of his Country*. His Person was declared sacred and inviolable. This was uniting and perpetuating in him alone the Power and yearly Prerogatives of all the Dignities of the State. They added to this Profusion of Honours the Privilege of setting at all public Games in a gilded Chair, with a golden Crown upon his Head ; and it was ordained by a Decree, that even after his Decease, That Chair and Crown should be plac'd as usual at all the public Spectacles, to render his Memory immortal. Nothing was wanting now but the Title of King. He deliberated whether he should assume it, and he in a Manner tryed on the Diadem. But having discerned the Aversion the *Romans* had for the Name and Pomp of Royalty, he durst not venture to fix the Crown upon his Head in the Midst of a Common-wealth, whose

*He tries on
the Dia-
dem and
rejects it.*

Liberty

Liberty he had so lately oppressed: He chose to appear in Public neither as a Sovereign, nor as a private Person. He resolved upon a third Expedient, more doubtful and dangerous. He weakly flattered himself with Hopes of dazzling his Fellow-Citizens by I know not what strange and inconsistent Mixture of Liberty and absolute Power; and he was even bold enough to use Clemency at the Beginning of a Usurpation. It was to gain the Confidence of the Senate and the Republican Party, that, contrary to the Advice of his best Friends, he broke his *Spanish* Guards; not considering, as they hinted to him, that Dominion got by Force of Arms, was not to be preserved but by the same Means. But *Cæsar*, now become the Master of ^{His over} the World, too easily credited the Discourses of ^{Confidence} his Flatterers, who gave him to understand, ^{and Self-} *That Security* after having put an End to the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth was more concerned than himself in his Preservation.

His Enemies took Advantage of his over-much Security, and turned those false Measures against himself. Most of the Senators had conferred those D. H. extraordinary Honours on him with no other ^{l. 44.} View than to render him odious, and that they might work his Ruin the surer. The Grandees chiefly who had followed *Pompey's* Fortune, and who could not forgive him their owing their Lives in the Plains of *Pharsalia* to Him, upbraided them. ^{His Enemies.} selves secretly for accepting of his Kindness, as having been in one Sense the Price of the Public Liberty; and Those whom he fancied his best Friends, accepted of his Favours only to have the freer Access to his Person, and to accomplish his Destruction.

He had formed a Design to turn his Arms against the *Parthians*, to avenge the Defeat and Death of *Crassus*; and he was to set out upon that Expedi-

tion in a few Days. His Creatures and Flatterers, to dispose the *Romans* to see him invested with the Title of King with less Reluctancy, made it their Business to give out, that the Books of the *Sybil*s declared, that the *Partians* could never be vanquished, unless the *Romans* had a King for their General. It is even affirmed, that *Aurelius Cotta*, one of his Creatures, who had those sacred Volumes in his keeping, was to make his Report out of them on the Ides of *March* to the Senate; and that *Cæsar*'s Friends, by Way of qualifying the Matter on Account of the Common-wealth, were to propose that same Day, That he should only be stil'd Dictator in *Rome*, and all over *Italy*; but that he should be acknowledg'd a King, and take upon him that Title, in Respect of all foreign Nations subject to the *Roman* Empire.

Conspi-
racy
against
him.

Cæsar's Enemies made use of those Rumours to hasten his Ruin. They detested his Ambition; and all that were zealous Common-wealth's-men, resolved rather to perish, than to see the entire Extinction of the public Liberty. It was agreed in private Cabals, that the Common-wealth could be no longer maintained without the Death of the Dictator; and above sixty Senators conspired against his Life.

Brutus and *Cassius*, whom *Cæsar* had made Prætors for that Year, were at the Head of this Party. *Brutus* glory'd in being sprung from that ancient *Brutus*, whom the Common-wealth owned for its Founder. Love of Liberty was transmitted to him with the Blood of his Ancestors. But tho' he was declared an Enemy to Monarchy, he could hardly tell how to hate the Monarch, of whom he had received so many Favours; and it was only the Love of his Country, superior to all Obligations, that made him enter into the Conspiracy. *Cassius*, on the contrary, naturally proud and im-

perious,

perious, and even a greater Enemy of the Tyrant than of the Tyranny, fought, in *Cæsar's* Undoing, nothing more than to be revenged for some Injuries he had received of him; and he came into the Plot not so much for the public Good, as to satisfy his private Passion.

The Conspirators, to give a specious Colour to their Designs, put off the Execution of them to the Ides of *March*, that is, till the Day that *Cæsar* was to be proclaimed King. Some Diviners had foretold him, That that Day would be fatal to him; and the Night before, he perceived that *Calpurnia* his Wife sighed and groaned extremely in her Sleep. She owned to him in the Morning, that she dreamed she held him in her Arms stabbed in many Places. She intreated him not to go Abroad that Day, but to put off the Assembly of the Senate; or at least, if her Prayers could not prevail, not to refuse her the Satisfaction of consulting the Event by Sacrifice. *Prognosticks of his Death.*

Cæsar, tho' not very superstitious, could not refuse that Complaisance to a virtuous Wife whom he loved; the more, because the Auguries were of great Weight; and there were but very few People, who did not run after those Presages, which were reputed in those Days the Interpreters of Destiny. A great many Sacrifices were offered; and as there was not one Sign but what was ominous and foreboded Ill, *Cæsar* resolved to dismiss the Senate, and gave Orders for it to *Mark Antony*, his dearest Confident, whom he had made Consul for that Year.

Decimus Brutus, who had no less a Share in his Trust, tho' one of the Conspirators, fearing that if *Cæsar* put off going to the Senate, the Plot might be discovered, remonstrated to him, That since the Senate was summoned by his special Order, they would take this Counter-Order for an

Affront; That the whole Company was disposed to declare him King of all the Provinces out of *Italy*; and he should not put off the Joy which his Friends conceived at seeing him invested with that glorious Title, which would be a Monument and a Recompence of his many great Victories: And as he was saying several more such flattering Things, he took him by the Hand, and drew him out of his House. It is reported, that by the Way he received several Notes, which discovered the Conspiracy to him; but that the Multitude about him did not permit him to read them; but that he gave them to his Secretaries, as he used to do the Petitions that were presented to him, when he appeared Abroad.

Scarce was he come down from his Litter, when all the Conspirators, as to do him Honour, surrounded him. *Attilius Cimber*, who was one of them, presented himself, according to what they had agreed, to demand his Brother's Pardon, who was banished. Upon *Cæsar's* Refusal, *Cimber*, under Pretence of begging it with greater Submission, laid hold of the Bottom of his Robe, but pulled it so hard, that he made him bend his Neck. Then *Casca* drew his Dagger, and stabbed him in the Shoulder; but the Wound proved but slight. *Cæsar* flew at him, and threw him down; but as they were scuffling, another of the Conspirators came behind, and stabbed him in the Side. *Cassius*, at the same Time, wounded him in the Face, and *Brutus* pierced his Thigh. He was yet defending himself with much Courage; but the Blood he lost through so many Wounds, having weakened him, he went to the Feet of *Pompey's* Statue, where he fell and expired, after having been stabbed in three and twenty Places by the Hands of those whom he thought he had disarmed by his good Offices.

He is assassinated.

App. 1. 2.
c. 36.

Plut. in
Cæsar.
Year of
Rome,
709.

The

The Conspirators, seeing him dead, offered at *The Ter-*
the same Time to give an Account to the Senate *ror the Se-*
of the Motives of their Undertaking, and to ex- *nate was*
hort them to approve an Action, which had re- *in.*
stored Liberty to their Country. But Nobody
would hearken to them: Most of the Senators,
terrified and filled with Amazement, ran away in
great Haste. They retired to their Houses, where
they locked themselves up, without knowing what *Plut. ibid.*
they had to hope or to fear from so bold an Action,
and so tragical an Event.

The End of the Thirteenth Book.



B O O K XIV.

After Cæsar's Death, two Parties arise in the Commonwealth. One Side declares for the Conspirators; the other demands, that the Death of the Dictator be revenged. Mark Antony the Consul declares sometimes for one, sometimes for the other, according as it suits his own private Views. His Scheme of Grandeur crossed by young Octavius, Grand Nephew and Adopted Son of the Dictator. Octavius procures his Adoption to be confirmed by the Prætor, and declares himself openly Heir of his Great-Uncle, whose Name he assumes. By Cicero's Assistance, he brings the Senate over to his Interest. The Triumvirate of Cæsar. The cruel Proscriptions of Antony and Lepidus. Cæsar makes use of the Forces of Lepidus and Antony, to undo the Conspirators and their Adherents. He afterwards declares against Antony and Lepidus themselves, and at last remains sole Master of the whole Roman Empire.

The Conspirators disavow'd by some, and approved of by others. **B** RUTUS and Cassius, not having had Power to keep the Senate together, went all over the City, followed by their Accomplices, with their Daggers yet bloody in their Hands. To bring the People over to their Party, they proclaimed in the Streets, that they had killed the King of Rome, and the Tyrant of their Country. They were preceded by a Herald, who on a Javelin carried a Hat for a Signal of Liberty, and they

they exhorted the People to lend them a helping Hand in restoring the Common-wealth. Some Senators, that had no Share in the Plot, joined the Conspirators to do themselves Honour, and publicly bestowed large Encomiums upon them. But there was Nobody among the People, who declared for them. They were no longer those ancient *Romans*, who preferred Liberty before Life. Most, become effeminate with the Delicacies of *Rome*, accustomed to live by the Price of their Votes, which they sold to the highest Bidder, or by the liberal Presents of the Dictator, bewailed him as the Father of his Country. The Conspirators, surprized at their melancholy Looks, retired to the Capitol; whither, for their Safety, they carried a great Number of Gladiators, Dependants on *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Conspirators, and they saw with Grief, that the Death of an Usurper was going to create fresh Calamities in the Common-wealth. And indeed, *Antony*, *Antony* *Lepidus*, and other more particular Favourites of *Cæsar*, who at first hid themselves for Fear of being involved in his Ruin, appeared in Public as soon as they perceived this Disposition in the People: They called together their Creatures, and resolved to revenge the Death of the Dictator. *Lepidus*, by Order of *Antony*, who was Consul, caused a Body of Troops, which he commanded as General of the Horse, to advance into the very Field of *Mars*. *Antony*, on his Part, being then first Consul, and intrusted with the Government, caused *Cæsar's* Money and Papers to be carried to his own House, and summoned the Senate. Never did that August Body meet on so important and nice an Occasion. They came there to decide, whether *Cæsar* had been an Usurper, or a lawful Magistrate; and whether those that had killed him, deserved to be rewarded or punished. *Antony*, to prevent many of the most noted in

and Lepidus are for avenging Cæsar.
Vel. Pat.
l. 2. c. 58.
Year of Rome,
709.

Idem.
App.
Ibid.

The Senate deliberates upon Cæsar's Death.

the

the Senate, who held Places and Governments by no other Authority than *Cæsar's* Liberality, from declaring against his Memory, put the Question, Whether, supposing he was declared an Usurper, App. 1. 2. all his Ordinances should likewise be declared c. 39. void, and whether all the Regulations he had made in the Empire should be abolished, and the Magistrates of the Common-wealth, and Governors of Provinces, whom he had nominated, should resign their Offices?

There were two Parties in the Senate, who, without declaring themselves openly, carried on two very contrary Designs with Abundance of Art and Dissimulation. *Antony*, at the Head of *Cæsar's* Creatures and Friends, aimed at the Sovereign Power himself, and sought it in the Ruin of all the Assassins. The true Republicans, without approving openly what had newly happened, had no other View than the restoring the Common-wealth; and most, being either Relations or Friends to the Conspirators, would not have been sorry to obtain some distant Governments for them, less to do them Honour than to provide for their Safety. But as in this new Confusion the greater Part of the Senators did not see through each other's Designs, they all mistrusted one another, and did not open themselves without Abundance of Caution, not knowing as yet whom they should e'er long be obliged either to love or to hate: So that after several different Overtures, they took a Medium to content both Parties. It was agreed that Nobody should be prosecuted for *Cæsar's* Death, but it was stipulated by the same Decree that all his Ordinances should stand.

Cæsar declared as it were both innocent and guilty. This was, as it were to declare him at the same Time both Innocent and Guilty; since it was inconsistent for the Senate to confirm what he had done during his Dictatorship, and at the same Time to decree, that his Murderers should not be prosecuted

prosecuted. *Antony* was very sensible of this Contradiction; but he durst not oppose this Decree of the Senate, for fear of *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Conspirators, who was Governor of *Gallia Cisalpina*, and Commander of a powerful Army. He thought it proper to conceal his real Sentiments, till he was able to cope with him; or till some favourable Opportunity enabled him to snatch his Government from him, and to entice away his Soldiers, who most of them had served under him in *Cæsar's* Armies. These were the Reasons that prevailed with him to subscribe to the Senate's Decree. The Provinces were distributed at the same Time; *Brutus* got the Government of the Isle of *Crete*, *Cassius* of *Africa*, *Trebonius* of *Asia*, *The Pro-*
Cimber of *Bytbinia*, and *Decimus Brutus* was con-^{vinces}
 firmed in that of *Gallia Cisalpina*, which had^{given to}
 been given him by *Cæsar*. *Antony* even consented^{the Con-}
 to see *Brutus* and *Cassius*. There was a Sort of a^{spirators.}
 Reconciliation made between those Heads of the^{Plut. in}
 two Parties: But Nobody took this to be sincere. *Bruto.*
 Their Hearts were too much ulcerated to continue in the Terms of Moderation; and it was not long before *Antony* showed openly, that he designed to be revenged on all the Conspirators. *Cæsar* had *Cæsar's*
 trusted his Will to *Piso*, his Father-in-Law. The^{Will.}
 Time was now come to open it, and at the same Time to celebrate the Funeral of the Dictator. *Cassius* opposed it, and was therein seconded by *Plut. ibid.*
 his Adherents in the Senate, who feared that the Sight of those Obsequies would renew the Affection of the People, and cause fresh Troubles. *Antony* and *Piso*, with that very Design, strongly insisted, that one who had been *Pontifex Maximus* ought not to be deprived of the Honours of Sepulture. "Those who boast of having killed a
 "Tyrant," said *Piso*, "treat us themselves like
 "Tyrants. They are very willing, that whatever
 "*Cæsar* has done in their Behalf should be ratifi-
 "ed;

App. l. 2.
c. 40.

“ed; and at the same Time, in an imperious Manner, demand that his last Dispositions be suppressed. The Senate,” added *Piso*, “may regulate what they think the most fitting to honour the Obsequies of that great Man; but as to his Will, which he deposited in my Hands, I will not betray his Trust; and unless I am deprived of Life, I am resolved to read it before the whole People.” The Affair was debated by both Parties with much Warmth. At last *Brutus*, who perhaps did not foresee the Consequences of this Step, obliged those of his Party to give Way to the other. It was decreed, That *Cæsar*’s Will should be executed, and his Funeral Rites performed at the public Charge.

App. l. 2.
c. 42.
Octavius
succeeds
Cæsar.

The Will being produced, was read in Presence of all the People. There it was found, that he had adopted *Octavius*, Son to his Sister’s Daughter, for his Son and principal Heir; That in Case he died without Heirs Male, he had nominated for his next Heir *Decimus Brutus*, one of the principal Conspirators; That he had nominated some others of *Brutus*’s Accomplices, to take Care of *Octavius*’s Education, he being yet but eighteen Years old. By the same Will, he left his Gardens to the People of *Rome*, and to every individual Citizen the Sum of seventy-five *Attick* Drachma’s, or three hundred Sesterces. The People were extremely moved, when they heard that that great Man, of whom they had received so many Favours during his Life-time, had extended his good Will towards them, even beyond his Life, by new Liberalities. Sentiments of Grief and Gratitude forced Tears from the whole Assembly; and this general Affection was converted into an Indignation against the Conspirators, and chiefly against *Decimus Brutus*, who had plunged his Dagger into the Bosom of Him who in so honourable a Man-

Plut. in
Cæsar.

ner had just before appointed him one of his Heirs.

Antony, perceiving this Disposition in the Minds *Antony's* of the People, sent for the Corpse into the *Forum, Funeral* to increase their Resentment at so moving a *Oration on* Sight. He himself pronounced his Funeral Oration. He began it with the Recital of his Victories and Conquests. He next enlarged very much upon that uncommon Moderation which the Dictator had showed towards his private Enemies, during the whole Course of the Civil-war. From this he proceeded to the extraordinary Honours which the Senate had decreed him, as an Evidence and a Recompence for his Virtues. He repeated aloud the Decree by which he was declared Father of his Country, and his Person sacred and inviolable.—As soon as he had spoke this last Sentence, he made a Stop; and turning himself

towards the Corpse laid on the Funeral Pile, and showing it to the People, “See there,” says he, *After the* “how well we keep our Oaths! How grateful we *Time of* “approve ourselves! A perjured and ungrateful *Sylla, the* “Crew, (continued he) have dared to assassinate the *Romans* “greatest of Men; even that very Man who, after *burnt their* “having generously given them their Lives in *Dead, in-* “the Plains of *Pharsalia*, had likewise raised them *stead of bu-* “to the highest Dignities in the Common-wealth.” *rying them.*

And then, as it were, introducing CÆSAR himself speaking and complaining of their Ingratitude:

“Wherefore did I preserve the Lives of my Murderers? Shall I not find one Friend among that great Number on whom I heaped and accumulated my Favours, that will revenge me of the Perfidiousness of those Traitors?” Then, raising his Voice, and stretching forth his Hands towards the Capitol, he cried out, in his own Person, “Oh, *Jupiter!* here I am, ready to revenge him; “I swear it in the most solemn Manner: And, ye “Gods, Protectors of this Empire, I conjure ye

“to favour me in the executing so just a Duty.” And still the more to aggravate the Grief and Repentment of the Multitude, he takes CÆSAR’S Robe, and holds it up to their View all bloody. At the same Time he shews his Image, which he had for that Purpose caused to be made of Wax, and on which the Artist, by his Order, had expressed the three and twenty Wounds, which the Dictator had received both in his Face and other Parts of his Body.

Cæsar regretted.

At this sad Spectacle, all the People melted into Tears; each celebrated his Virtues. Some cried up his uncommon Valour, others his Sweetness and Clemency; all equally abhorred the Cruelty of the Assassins; and Rage succeeded to Compassion; a Body of *Plebeians* hastened to the several Houses of the Conspirators to set Fire to them. But they had provided against it, strengthening themselves with the Assistance of their Friends and Domesticks. That Multitude, without any other Arms, besides their Grief and Anger, was easily beaten off. The people, not proving the strongest, retreated, making bitter Imprecations, mixed with Threats. The most violent swore aloud, that they would return the next Day with Fire and Sword, and sacrifice them to CÆSAR’S Ghost.

App. l. 3.
c. 2.
*The Fear
and Moderation of
the Conspirators.*

The Conspirators, and even the Senate, were equally offended at the artful Speech of *Antony*. The Conspirators complained that the Consul, contrary to the Decree of the Senate, and his own Word, by which it had been agreed to bury all that had passed in Oblivion, had so pathetically enlarged on the Praises of CÆSAR with no other View, but to excite the Rage of the People, and promote their Ruin. They saw very well, that they could not much depend on his Oaths. The Conspirators, now pretty sure that he would make the most of the Aversion which the People expressed towards them, to procure their undoing,
left

left *Rome*, where they could no longer abide with Safety. Most of them upon different Pretences retired to their Governments. They underhand made themselves sure of the Legions and other Forces, which they found in the Provinces. Several seized on the public Monies. The Kings and Cities of the *East*, in Alliance with the *Roman* State, promised them powerful Succours. Their Party became formidable. *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and the other Conspirators, made no ill Use of it. They on the contrary declared, That they were ready to live the Remainder of their Days out of their Native Country, and in Banishment, provided that *CÆSAR*'s Creatures did not invade the public Liberty.

The Senate, without declaring themselves openly, did however secretly favour their Undertakings, being convinced that the Preservation of the Republican Government depended upon the Success of that Party. *Antony* was not ignorant of their being that Way inclined. He knew how odious he had rendered himself to most of the Senators, by his moving the People's Anger against the Conspirators, under Pretence of making *Cæsar*'s Panegyric. He found that he had discovered himself too soon. As it was in the Senate's Power to cross his Designs, he resolved to regain their Favour, or at least to blind them for a while, by softning in some other Speeches what he had said amiss in his Funeral Oration. He remonstrated in the Senate, that the Death of that Great Man ought more to be ascribed to some of the Gods, jealous of, and averse to, the Prosperity of the Commonwealth, than to any of the Citizens. That all their Attention henceforth should be how to reunite the People's Minds, divided on this fatal Accident, and to prevent the Calamities of a Civil War. At the same Time, as a Seal of Peace, he proposed to recal *Sextus Pompeius*, Son of *Pompey* the

Antony's
artful
Management.

the Great, who, since his Father's Death, had staid in *Spain*; to make good to him at the public Charge all his Estates that had been confiscated, and which *Cæsar* had divided among his own

App. 1. 3. Creatures. He added, that it was his Opinion, he
c. 1. ought to have the supreme Command of all the Naval Forces of the State, in the same Manner as his Father had before him.

The most resolute Common-wealth's-man durst not have proposed such a Thing in the present Circumstances. The Senate was equally surprized and over-joy'd at it. Some attributed this Change in *ANTONY* to his Fear of the Conspirators: Others suspected, that he did not care to draw the Hatred of the Senate upon himself, by setting up for the Avenger of *Cæsar's* Death, whilst young *Octavius*, the Dictator's Heir, was preparing to reap all the Advantages of it. All the Senators, however, extolled him upon it; and bestowed Praises so much the sincerer, as they found in the Restoration of young *Pompey*, the Condemnation, as it were, of *Cæsar's* Memory.

Marius
killed by
order of
M. An-
tony.

Antony, to persuade them entirely of the Sincerity of his Intentions, and of his Disposition towards maintaining Peace, caused one *Amatius* publicly to be killed in *Rome*, for calling himself a Son of old *Marius*; and by favour of that great Name, and by Virtue of a Kindred with *Cæsar*, publicly demanding that his Death should be revenged. He had put himself at the Head of a considerable Party of the most seditious *Plebeians*. Those Mutineers had erected an Altar to *Cæsar's* Memory, on the very Spot where his Body had been burnt; and they required the Magistrates and the prime Men of *Rome* to sacrifice thereon. *ANTONY*, without observing any judicial Form, caused their Chief to be stabbed. Several of his Accomplices perished in this Tumult, and a great Number of Slaves, who had embraced that Party,

were

were immediately hanged by *Antony's* Orders. Tho' the Senate no ways approved these violent App. Proceedings, as being contrary to the Laws, they ^{l. 3. c. 1.} however thought themselves obliged to dissemble on an Occasion, when such a Procedure of a Consul and a Friend to CÆSAR, seemed tending to the greater Safety of the Conspirators. The People, on the contrary, were extremely provoked at it. They openly reproached ANTONY with Ingratitude to the Memory of his Benefactor, and his Inconstancy, in changing Sides. ANTONY failed not to make himself a Merit with the Senate of this Aversion and Resentment of the People. He even pretended to be much afraid lest *Amatius's* Followers should attempt his Life; and, as if he was not safe, he required Guards of the Senate to arm himself against the People's Resentment. The Senate allowed him to be accompanied with some veteran Soldiers. But *Antony* having brought ^{Antony} the Senate to what he intended, chose for his ^{is allowed} Guards none but valiant old Officers, who had ^{a Guard.} served under him in CÆSAR's Armies, and who all passionately longed to revenge the Death of their General. ANTONY, under several Pretences, App. ^{ibid} got a Body of near six Thousand of them constantly to attend him. To some he gave the Title of Centurions, and to others the Quality of Tribunes. They had Orders to make themselves sure, under-hand, of the veteran Soldiers, in case there might be Occasion to compleat their Cohorts. By this Means he found himself in a Condition to set on foot a large Body of Forces in a very short Time, if his Interest required him to take up Arms.

The Senate was frightened to see the Consul walk the Streets of *Rome* always attended with that prodigious Number of armed Officers. His very Friends remonstrated to him, how much so extraordinary a Guard made him suspected and

Antony
abolishes
the Dic-
tature.

odious in a free State. ANTONY answered them, that he had desired them for no other End than to keep the Seditious in Awe, and would disband them as soon as every Thing in the City should be restored to its former Tranquility. And to remove the Suspicion they might entertain, as if he designed to succeed CÆSAR in the Dictatorship, he afterwards proposed to publish a Law, that should for ever abrogate a Dignity which was become odious by the Extensiveness of its Power: And his Advice was accordingly passed into a Law by the Votes of the People. This Step, and his Promise of forthwith dismissing his Guards, did seemingly free the Senate of their Fears; who perhaps did not think themselves strong enough to make him clear up their Doubts more, or to apply a Remedy to them.

And indeed ANTONY was advancing insensibly towards the sovereign Power, notwithstanding those Protestations. The whole Authority of the Government was in his sole Hands. He was already Consul. One of his Brothers, *Lucius Antonius*, was Tribune of the People; and his other, *C. Antonine*, was Prætor: He afterwards procured for him, as his Lieutenant, the Command of an Army in *Macedonia*, composed of six Legions, all old Soldiers, and who had followed CÆSAR in all his Wars. So many high Posts, united in one single Family, made ANTONY Master of the Commonwealth; so that without having taken upon him the Title either of King or Dictator, it may be said, that he reigned in *Rome* with an absolute Authority, when he saw young OCTAVIUS, CÆSAR's Grand Nephew, arrive there, to take Possession of his Inheritance.

Augustus's Origin. Vell. l. 2. c. 59. He was Son of a Senator called *Caius Octavius*, who had been Prætor, and of *Accia*, Daughter of *Julia*, CÆSAR's Sister, who was married to *Accius Balbus*. Young *Octavius*, not having yet attained the

the Age of eighteen, CÆSAR had sent him to *Apollonia*, a City on the Coast of *Epirus*, to finish his Studies, and make himself perfect in his Exercises. He had not been six Months there, when he heard, that his Grand Uncle had been assassinated by the Great Men of *Rome*; and even by those whom he had loaded with his Bounties.

This News afflicted him most sensibly. At first ^{The diffi-} he knew not whether the whole Senate had been ^{rent Ad-} in the Secret, or whether the Dictator fell only by ^{vice} the Conspiracy of a few private Enemies. He ^{which is} knew as little what share the People bore in so ^{given him.} tragical an Event; and the Letters he received a few Days after from his Mother and *Marcus Philipus*, his Father-in-Law, increased his Grief and Uneasiness greatly. *Accia*, and *Philippus*, her second Husband, wrote him Word how *Cæsar* had been murdered in full Senate by his best Friends; That more than sixty Senators had been in that Plot; That even those that had no share in it, did however secretly favour the Conspirators, whom they held for the Restorers of public Liberty; That this Party was very powerful; That *ANTONY*, *Lepidus*, and other Friends of his Uncle, under Pretence of avenging his Death, aimed at nothing else but to establish their own Power; That the City was filled with Troubles and Commotions, occasioned by the Opposition and Animosity of the different Parties; consequently, That whilst Things stood thus, it behoved him much not to declare his Pretensions, nor his Resentment; and there could be no Safety for him, but in an obscure and private Life. Some of his Friends went even so far as to advise him to renounce *Cæsar's* Adoption, for fear the Conspirators should involve him in his Uncle's Fate. Others, as fearful, apprehending every Moment to see Soldiers come to kill him, were of Opinion, that he should seek for Shelter in the Army of *Macedonia*, the Soldiers

whereof were one and all passionate Lovers of *Cæsar's* Memory.

Octavius, at the very first View, discovered the Weakness and mean-spiritedness of these Counsels, though varnished over with the specious Pretence of Prudence; and he answered them only with a generous Scorn, taking it very ill that they should think him capable of following them. *Cæsar's* Death had afflicted, but not dispirited him: He resolved to revenge it, and to maintain the Honour of his Adoption at the very Peril of his Life; and he showed in so nice an Affair, and in so early a Youth, an innate Courage and Greatness of Soul.

Vell. Pa- All the Historians of his Time agree, that he pos-
terc. 1. 2. sessed an exalted Mind, always true and judicious
c. 59. in his Designs, capable of the greatest Under-
takings, and of managing them with the utmost
Skill and Industry.

He comes The first Thing he resolved upon, was to cross
to Rome. over into *Italy* without Delay, to learn himself
how People were disposed. As he had but few to
attend him, he would not land at *Brundisium*, the
usual Port for all those that came from the *East*,
lest the Garrison, corrupted by some of the Con-
spirators, might have secret Orders to secure him.

App. 1. 3. He went on Shore near a little Town called *Lupia*,
c. 3. at a small Distance from *Brundisium*, whither he
immediately sent some dextrous Persons to en-
quire if he might venture safely into the Town.
The Officers and Soldiers in Garrison there, under-
standing that the Nephew of their late General
durst not come near them for fear of some Am-
bush, went out in a great Body to meet him; and
after having given him their Faith, introduced
him into the Town, and they made him the Master
of it. *Octavius* thanked them for their Faithful-
ness and Attachment to the Memory of his Uncle.
He sacrificed to the Gods, and in a solemn Manner
took upon him the Name of *Cæsar*, according

to the Privilege of his Adoption. It is by that Name we shall for the future call this Man, who made it no less famous than his Predecessor, though by Virtues of a different Kind.

Young *Cæsar*, after an Action of so much Splendor, marched boldly on to *Rome*, without any other Guard than his own Servants, and a few Friends : But he was supported by the Great Name of *CÆSAR*, which alone soon got him Legions and whole Armies to dispose of how he pleased. At the Report of his March, the most considerable among his Father's Friends, his Relations, his Freed-men, and even his Slaves, came and joined him. The veteran Soldiers, whom *CÆSAR*, after the Civil-wars, had given Lands to in *Italy*, hastened from all Parts to offer their Services to his adopted Son. Money was brought him from all Sides ; and when he came near to *Rome*, most of the Magistrates, the Officers of the Army, and the People, thronged out at the Gates to meet him. It was taken Notice of, that of all the Friends *Ap. ibid.* and Creatures of the Dictator, *Antony* alone neglected to pay that Duty to his Son, and did not vouchsafe so much as to send the least of his Servants to compliment him in his Name. Young *CÆSAR* would not seem to take it ill, that he might not be obliged to fall out with him on so trifling an Account, having Affairs of much greater Moment to transact with him. And when his Friends did not forbear publicly to condemn the Pride and Ungratefulness of *Antony*, *CÆSAR*, with a seeming good Temper, excused him on Account of his greater Age, and the Prerogatives of the Consular Dignity. He added, that being the youngest, he would make the first Advances, and wait on him the next Morning ; but that before he went to make that Visit, he desired all his Friends to come early, with as many People as they could any Ways get together, into the *Forum*, to assist at a Ceremony

emony and a solemn Act, in which the Presence of his Kindred and Friends would be no less necessary than honourable to him.

*He gets his
Adoption
recorded.*

This Ceremony was registering CÆSAR'S Adoption, which, according to the Custom amongst the *Romans*, he was obliged to get authorized by the Prætor. Without this Formality it was not lawful for him to assume his Name, nor take Possession of his Estate. So bold a Step frightened equally his Mother and his Father-in-Law. They remonstrated to him, That by declaring himself CÆSAR'S Heir, he took upon him to prosecute all his Murderers; which would draw the Hatred of the Senate upon him, who by a Decree had ordained, That all Things relating thereto should be buried in Oblivion; That the Conspirators, strong on Account of the great Number of their Adherents, the Governments where they had the supreme Command, and the Legions that obeyed them, would all turn their Arms against him, as against the Promoter of Tyranny; That even *Antony*, who had now rendered himself Master of the Administration, would not be pleased to see him at the Head of a Party which should have any other Master but himself; and, That tho' a Creature of CÆSAR'S, it seemed as if the Death of that Great Man had wiped off all his Obligations to him; and that his Son would perhaps find him as much averse to his Fortune as his Assassins, or the worst of his Enemies.

*His Con-
rage and
Resolu-
tion.*

Cæsar answered them, That when he had taken that Name upon him at *Brundisium*, he had foreseen all the Consequences and all the Obligations it brought him under; and That what he saw in *Rome*, far from inducing him to repent the doing of it, only contributed to confirm him in the Resolution which he had taken; That the Pardon which the Conspirators had obtained from the Senate, had been granted for no other Reason, but
because

because Nobody had the Courage to oppose it; but That he did not despair of getting it reversed, when the Senate should see him at the Head of his Kindred, of the Friends and ancient Officers of *Cæsar*, backed by the Authority of the Laws, and supported by the Love of the People: That the very Gods would declare for the Justice of his Cause; and *Antony* perhaps would be ashamed at last, that he had not come into it before; That at all Adventures he had rather die, than give up an Adoption that was so glorious to him; and it should never be said of him, that he thought himself unworthy of That Name which *Cæsar* had thought he merited. *Accia*, seeing him animated with so noble a Courage, and such high Sentiments, embraced him tenderly; and drowning his Face with Tears, which Joy and Fear did confusedly force from her, *May the Gods, my Son*, said *Id. App.* she, *conduct you, where your high Destiny calls you*: *Ibid.* And Heaven grant, *I may soon see you victorious over all your Enemies!* After this, *Cæsar* went to the Forum. He presented himself, attended by a vast Multitude of his Friends, before *Caius Antonius*, Prætor for that Year, and the Consul's Brother. He declared to him in a solemn Manner, that he accepted *Cæsar's* Adoption: And after having caused his Declaration to be registred, he went to *Pompey's* Gardens, where *Antony* resided, and which he had appropriated to himself upon that Great Man's Death.

Antony, having learned that young *Cæsar* was *He pays* at his Door, let him wait there some Time, to make *Antony a* him know, by that affected Disregard, how much *Visit.* he was above him by his Office, and what Degree of Authority he designed to maintain over him: He was afterwards introduced into his Apartment. Their first Meeting was cold, though attended with that Politeness and Civility, which is usual among People of such great Distinction. *Cæsar*

App. l. 2.
Augustus
makes
Com-
plaints
and Pro-
posals to
Antony.

spoke first: He began with returning Thanks to *Antony* for his Attachment to the Memory of his Father, and for his Panegyric made at his Funeral. Next he complained bitterly, that being Consul, he had consented to the general Pardon which the Senate had granted to the Conspirators. "Is it possible," said he, with much Warmth and Liveliness, "that *Cæsar's* Friend, that he who actually holds the Dignity of Consul from that Great Man, has not only suffered his Murderers to escape, but has consented that Governments should be decreed them, and has since in a peaceable Manner conversed with those Assassins? Could I have expected this of my Father's Lieutenant, of him who shared his Power and the Command of his Armies, and whom he raised to the chief Dignities of the Common-wealth? Take it not amiss, that I conjure you by his Memory to alter your Conduct: Show yourself to the Senate, the People, and all *Rome*, the Avenger of my Father's Death: Join yourself to me, join yourself to *Cæsar's* Relations, and so many Officers and Soldiers, who daily call for the Punishment of those Assassins. Let us unite our Resentment, as we do our Grief; and if we do not think ourselves strong enough, let us call the People to our Assistance. You know it was none of their Fault, that we were not revenged before now. But if the Fear of offending the Senate hinders you from concurring in so just a Design, at least do not oppose Me in it. And though I should be alone at the Head of a Party, and have yet neither Legions nor other Forces, every Thing is possible to a Son, who undertakes to revenge the Death of his Father; I only desire, as his chief Heir, that you will deliver up to me all his Money which you caused to be carried to your own House. I willingly leave you all his
" other

“ other invaluable Treasures in Gold and Silver
 “ Plate, or in Jewels of all Sorts ; but I have Oc-
 “ casion for the ready Money, to pay off the Le-
 “ gacies which he left to the People ; and to begin
 “ to pay three hundred thousand Men, who are
 “ mentioned in his Will. And whereas what you
 “ could let me have at present of ready Money
 “ will not be sufficient, I shall be much obliged to
 “ you, if you will either lend me some of your
 “ own, or procure me some at Interest from the
 “ Quæstors or Receivers of the public Monies,
 “ that I may pay off what shall remain due to
 “ the People and veteran Soldiers, till I am able
 “ to raise Money, by the Sale of the whole Estate
 “ that my father left me, to discharge those ne-
 “ cessary Duties.”

The Boldness and Undauntedness of this Speech *Antony's*
 alarmed *Antony*. He was surprized to find such *Fear, and*
 vast Designs in so young a Man, and one that was *the An-*
 yet but in a private Condition. Instead of answer- *swer he*
 ing his Complaints and Demands, he at first plead- *makes.*
 ed the Authority which the Consulate gave him.
 He wrapped himself up, as it were, in the Dignity
 of his high Office ; and made use of it as a Barrier, to
 prevent *Cæsar's* showing him in too near a View,
 what was just and true. But perceiving he had to
 do with a Man educated in *Cæsar's* Bosom, and
 accustomed to look on most Consuls as on his
 Uncle's Creatures ; he at last answered him, That he
 was very much mistaken, if he fancied that *Cæsar*,
 by leaving him to inherit his Name and his Estate,
 had thereby left him the same Claim and Right
 to the Empire : That his Death, which had been
 as the Punishment and Revenge of the Authority
 which he had usurped, ought to have taught his
 adopted Son, that the Constitution of the Com-
 mon-wealth allowed neither of Hereditary nor even
 of Elective Sovereigns ; therefore, that a *Roman*
 Consul owed him no Account of his Conduct :

That

That on his Part, he quitted him of all the Obligations which he pretended to owe him; since in all that he had done, he had no other View, but the Welfare of the State, and to maintain Peace among his Fellow-Citizens: "Yet it is I alone," continued *Antony*, "that, having established *Cæsar's* Memory, by causing him to be honourably interred at the public Charge, have acquired you his Name, the Right of his Family, his Inheritance and Estate. All this you had lost, if *Cæsar* after his Death had been treated like an Usurper: For his Will had not then been confirmed; there would have been neither Will, Adoption, nor Inheritance; Nobody would ever have dared to have brought his Corpse into the *Forum*: But I chose rather to expose myself to the Indignation of the Senate, and the Fury of the Conspirators, than suffer that Great Man to be deprived of the Honours of Sepulture. If I have made some Concessions to the Conspirators, I thought myself obliged to it from Considerations becoming my Age and Dignity; Considerations, which a young Man, as you are, is incapable of discerning. As to the Sums of Money which you demand, can you be ignorant, that that very Money belonged to the Common-wealth, from which your Father had taken it? It has been shared among the Magistrates since his Death, and they are to lay it out on the several Occasions of the State. But suppose it should be restored to you, I would never advise you to consume it in Largeesses and Gratifications, as imprudent as they are useless. you know, that the People is a Monster, who takes on all Sides, that is never to be satisfied, and who never repaid the good Offices of our Citizens but with the basest Ingratitude. And as for you, Young Gentleman," continued he, "who have read the History of the *Grecian* Commonwealth,

“ mon-wealth, have you not observed therein,
 “ that all the People’s Favourites are short-lived;
 “ and that it is building on a Bog, to lay the
 “ Foundation of one’s Fortune on the transient
 “ Favour of a vile Populace?”

Through the Disguise of these Counsels, young *Augustus* easily saw, that *Antony* retained his Father’s Money from him for no other End, than to disable him from buying the Love of the People. The Empire, as it were, was exposed to Sale; the Multitude, and even the Legions prostituted their Votes and Services to the highest Bidder. Young *Cæsar*, highly offended at a Refusal, of which he rightly foresaw all the Consequences, went out of *Antony*’s House pierced with Grief, loudly invoking *Cæsar*’s Name, and calling him as it were to his Aid against the Injustice and Ingratitude of the Consul. But as the Grand Affair was to be before-hand with him in gaining the Love of the People, to supply the Room of that Money which was refused him, he exposed to Sale all the Houses and Lands that belonged to the Dictator; and publicly declared, That he had not accepted of his Inheritance, but in order to prevent the Consul from depriving so many Families among the People of the Sums left them by the Will of his Uncle and Father.

Antony, on the other Hand, to stop all the Springs whence young *Cæsar* might draw Money, obtained a Decree from the Senate, That an Enquiry should be made into the public Monies and Revenues. This Decree retrospected the Administration of the Dictator, whose Inheritance *Antony* was resolved to ruin, thereby to put his Heir out of a Condition of gaining the People by his Liberalities: And he at the same Time put a stop to the Sales, which he intended of his principal Estates in Land. Some private Citizens claimed them before the Consul, as the Estates of their Ancestors,

us’s Indignation against Antony.

Antony’s Artifice towards Augustus.

App. l. 3:
c. 5.

cestors, which *Cæsar*, as they said, had appropriated to himself during the Civil-wars. Some Officers of the Revenue interposed at the same Time to reclaim a Part of those Lands, as being confiscated for the Use of the Public, having belonged to attainted Persons. These important Debates were all carried before *Antony*, or some inferior Magistrates, who depended upon him. It was in vain, that young *Cæsar* shewed by the Deeds of Conveyance, that his Father had bought those Lands with his own Monies; and that, supposing it to be otherways, that famous Decree passed by the Senate after his Death, ratified every Thing done under *Cæsar's* Dictatorship; and that they ought either to repeal it in all its Parts, or equally maintain all the Acts done by the Authority of his Father and during his Dictatorship.

Antony, who only endeavoured to embroil this Affair in a Maze of Law Suits, maintained on the contrary, That Time ought to be granted to such Citizens, as had been deprived by superior Force, to bring in their Proofs; and as to the Senate's Decree, it appeared, that it was only designed to maintain those Magistrates in their Offices, who had been preferred to them by the Dictator, to prevent the State's falling into an Anarchy: But he doubted, whether that Decree extended as far as the Estates which *Cæsar* had appropriated to himself: That an Affair of that App. *ibid.* Consequence very well deserved the Senate should explain its Intentions therein by a new Decree: After all, he could not believe, that a Body of Men, so remarkable for their Equity, should have pretended to authorize Usurpations, tolerated only in those unhappy Times, and which hereafter would be put to no other Use, than to support the Pride and Luxury of a young Man.

Cæsar,

Cæsar, not ignorant that his Enemies by all these Stratagems only designed to evade the Execution of his Father's Will, did instantly put up his own Patrimony to Sale, besides the Estates of his Mother and Father-in-Law, who willingly parted with them to contribute to his Greatness. Young *Cæsar* paid Part of the Legacies mentioned in the Will out of the Produce of those Sales. The People, charmed with his Generosity, cried out, he deserved to bear the Name of *Cæsar*; and as they expected more Favours from him, they declared one and all for him against *Antony*. The Consul on his Side, that he might be able to cope with that Party, pretended to have secret Notice brought him, that the *Getae* had made Incursions into *Macedonia*. Under that specious Pretence, he desired of the Senate, they would grant him the Government of that Province, and the Command of the Army on that Frontier.

Though the Senate knew perfectly well, that those *Barbarians* had made no Inroads into the Dominions of the Common-wealth, yet they granted the Government of *Macedonia* to *Antony*, to enable him to balance the Power and Credit of young *Cæsar*, who became suspected and formidable by the Sums of Money he lavished on all Sides. The Senate, to maintain their own Liberty, used all their Industry to keep the Power of the Grantees in a Balance; and that Body of Men, formerly so absolute, was now reduced to trust the Forces of the State, and the Command of the Armies, to such as often turned them against their own Country: So that it may be said, that *Rome* in those Days had scarce any Thing at Command, but the Choice of her Tyrants.

Antony, having obtained that Government, sent *Caius Antonius*, one of his Brothers, thither, to draw thence as many Forces as he could, and bring them over into *Italy*. His Design was to

make

Augustus's Bounties.

App. l. 3. c. 5.

The Senate favours Antony.

Breach between Antony and Augustus.

make himself Master of *Gallia Cisalpina*, as the Dictator had done, in order to extend his Authority from thence to *Rome*, and, if possible, to drive young *Cæsar* thence. His Hatred and Jealousy against that Son of the Dictator did openly break out at the Games which *Crotonius* gave the People during his *Ædileship*. The Senate, as we have seen, had, during the Dictator's Life, ordained by a Decree, That at all the public Shows, a gilded Chair and a Crown of Gold should for ever be placed there, to make the Memory of that Great Man immortal. Young *Cæsar* failed not to send the Chair and Crown thither. But *Crotonius*, probably gained over by his Enemies, would not admit it, under Pretence that it was not just another should carry away the Honour of those Games of which he bore the whole Expence. The Affair was carried before the Consul. *Antony*, who desired no better than to mortify young *Cæsar*, answered coldly, That he would refer it to the Senate. And *I*, answered *Cæsar* haughtily, *will go and place the Chair of my Father where it ought to stand, whilst you are consulting the Conscript Fathers.*

Plut. in

Ant.

App. l. 3.

c. 6.

Antony, who was naturally of a proud Temper, provoked at the Audaciousness and Firmness of that young Man, replied, that he forbade him, not only to place it at the Games of *Crotonius*, but even at those which were to be showed at his own Expence: And Passion carrying him beyond his Bounds, he threatened to send him to Prison, if he continued to seduce and corrupt the People by his Largeesses and Prodigalities. *Cæsar*, of a more subtil and moderate Temper than the Consul, wisely concealed his private Resentment: But he knew how to make sufficient Advantage of *Antony's* Threats. And, that he might turn against him the Resentment of the People and Soldiery, he used to address his Speech to him in the *Forum*, as if he had been present there himself: After having related

all

all the Obstacles he had formed to evade the Execution of *Cæsar's* Will, and the opprobrious Manner in which the Consul had treated him, "Where-fore," said he, "dost thou oppose the Honours to be paid to a Great Man, from whom thou derivate thy own Dignity and Riches? Suffer at least, O *Antony*! that his Son may discharge those Legacies, which by his Will he has left to his Fellow-Citizens: I leave you to enjoy all the rest: I shall be too rich yet, if I can but inherit his Glory, and that Love which the People bore him." Such Discourses, repeated artfully on different Occasions, raised the Populace against the Consul. Every one detested his Ingratitude; and his own Guards, who had all served under *Cæsar*, threatened to abandon him, if he continued to persecute the Son of their General.

However great *Antony's* Passion against young *Cæsar* was, he saw it behoved him to dissemble. He answered those Officers, that he was incapable of proving ungrateful to the Memory of his Benefactor; that he even preserved a tender Friendship for his Son: But that that young Man, proud of the Great Name of *Cæsar*, offering to put himself on a Level with a Consul, he thought himself bound to make him sensible of the Subordination there was betwixt a private Citizen and the chief Magistrate of the Common-wealth: But that he was ready to re-admit him into his Friendship, provided he would for the future know himself a little better, and behave himself towards him with that Respect and Complaisance, which his Office and Age entitled him to. This Explanation was followed by an Interview, which the Officers brought about. *Antony* and *Cæsar* embraced, and promised to assist each other with the Interest of their Creatures, and go Hand in Hand in the Execution of their Designs. *Antony*, who had his Ends to serve, requested of him

Plut. in
Anton.
App. l 3.
c. 6.
Antony
and Au-
gustus
have an
Interview
and are
the reconciled.

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the Help of his Friends, to procure him the Government of *Gallia Cisalpina*, in Lieu of that of *Macedonia*. That Government of *Gaul* had been given by the Dictator to *Decimus Brutus*, one of the chief Conspirators; and the Senate had confirmed it since *Cæsar's* Death. *Antony*, who knew the Importance of that Government in respect to all *Italy*, remonstrated to young *Cæsar*, That since he was generously disposed to revenge the Death of his Father, he ought not to suffer, that one of his Assassins should in a Manner enjoy the Fruit of his Crime at the very Gates of *Rome*. *Cæsar* approved of his Opinion, and promised to back him with all his Interest with the People. *Antony* forthwith proposed the Affair to the Senate; but he met with great Opposition from the Majority thereof, who saw with Grief, that *Antony*, by turning one of the Conspirators out of his Government, broke in upon the *Senatus Consultum*, and the general Pardon, by which they had secured the Lives and Fortunes of all that had a Hand in the Dictator's Death. There were even

Antony is some in that Body, who, observing that Antony was going the same Way which the Dictator had taken to attain the Sovereign Power, proposed rather to make that Province a Free State, than to trust the Government of it to a Man, who was ambitious, a Great Commander, and who would use it no otherways than as a Place of Arms, and the Seat of his Empire. Several of that Body advised Decimus to fortify himself there betimes, and sent him Succours under-hand. So that Antony's Proposal having been rejected almost unanimously, he addressed himself to the People, whose Tribunes he had bribed.

It is easy to see, from what we have said, that the Senate was against undoing the Conspirators, whose Party they took to be the same with that of Liberty. But the People, always short in their

Foresight, and bribed by young *Cæsar's* Gifts, went headlong into all his Designs. They granted the Government to *Antony*, in hopes to see a speedy Vengeance taken of the Dictator's Assassins, without considering that their Death would be immediately followed with the Loss of their own Liberty. They decreed *Gallia Cisalpina* to ANTONY, who, by Virtue of a *Plebescitum*, and against the Will of the Senate, sent thither a strong Body of Forces to drive *Decimus Brutus* out of it. The Enemies of the Senate and the Conspirators triumphed on Account of the Reconciliation of CÆSAR and ANTONY. But, it was very hard for two such Men to continue long united, when their Interests were so widely opposite. ANTONY, thinking himself now Master of *Italy*, regarded young CÆSAR less; and the Death of a Tribune of the People, whose Place CÆSAR designed to fill with *Flaminius*, one of his Creatures, soon showed, that all his seeming Friendship was only as it were a Ground for betraying each other afresh. ANTONY fearing if CÆSAR had a Tribune entirely dependant on him, he would make Use of him to propose Things to the People wholly for his own Advantage, employed all his Credit and Authority to postpone that Election, and hinder any Assembly from meeting so soon. At the same Time he made a Decree, as Consul, forbidding CÆSAR, under severe Penalties, from making any new Gifts to the People contrary to Law. This was a sort of Declaration of War against him. Their Hatred and Aversion were kindled anew. ANTONY never mentioned *Cæsar*, but with the Epithets of a young hare-brained Fellow, whom he said, it was necessary he should compel to his Duty; whilst *Cæsar*, deeply silent, was laying the Foundations of his Enemy's Ruin. He began with stirring up the Resentment of the People against him, not a little

War declared against D. Brutus.
New Envois between Antony and Augustus.
App. l. 3. c. 7.
incensed.

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incensed at his last mentioned Decree against his bestowing Largeſſes; and ſent at the ſame Time Emiſſaries to all the Colonies, which his Father had ſettled in *Italy*; and even into *Antony's* Army, who diſperſed Maniſeſto's againſt his Management, and who underhand made ſure of a great Number of Officers and veteran Soldiers. Thoſe who were at *Rome*, and compoſed ANTONY's Guards, remonſtrated to him, that he was undoing himſelf and them, By his criminal Diviſions with young *Cæſar*, and that the Dictator's Aſſaſſins only would profit by it. "You are not ignorant," ſaid the Tribunes and principal Officers to him, "that
" the ſame Parties which formerly divided the
" Common-wealth betwixt *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, have
" yet a Being. The one always makes uſe of the
" plauſible Pretence of defending public Liberty,
" and the other aims at revenging the Dictator's
" Death. We have choſen you to command
" over us, as his beſt Friend, and in Hopes that
" his Lieutenant and firſt Commander of his Party
" would make uſe of his own and our Courage,
" to obtain a full Revenge of thoſe Villains who
" have aſſaſſinated him. Theſe are the Motives
" of our Truſt and of our Engagements. Your
" Safety and ours both depend upon the undoing
" the Conſpirators. If their Party prevails in
" the Government, we muſt all expect to be pro-
" ſcribed as the Accomplices of *Cæſar*, and the
" Miniſters of an Uſurper; and though under his
" Command we ſpilt our Blood to extend the
" Bounds of this Empire, *Cæſar's* Soldiers will be
" found guilty, if his Enemies get the better of
" them. Nothing can uphold our Party, but
" your Union with young *Cæſar*. Aſſiſt him,
" help us to deſtroy the Party oppoſite to ours;
" let it not be ſaid, that *Cæſar's* beſt Friend croſſes
" his Son in his generous Deſign of revenging
" his Father's Death."

ANTONY

ANTONY was not less desirous of destroying the App. 1. 3.
 Conspirators than his Officers, but he could not c. 6.
 brook that it should be owing to *Cæsar*; and he
 feared, that, under Pretence of revenging his Fa-
 ther's Death, he would seize on the Sovereign
 Power, by the Ruin of the Republican Party:
 This was the secret Ground of their Differences.
 ANTONY would gladly have lent young *Cæsar* his
 Troops and his Credit to destroy his Father's Mur-
 derers, if he would have acknowledged him for his
 Successor in the Administration of the Republic.
 However, as it behoved him much to retain with
 him that Crowd of Officers who had followed his
 Fortune since the Dictator's Death, he answered
 those who came with that Errand from them, That
 he was glad he had an Opportunity of giving them
 an Account of his Conduct, and to lay his very
 Soul open to them. He added, That he promised
 himself, that after they had heard him, they would
 find he had wanted neither Courage to defend the
 Memory of their General, nor Prudence or Skill
 to improve any Opportunity of revenging his
 Death.

“ I shall not (says he) remind you of the Tu-Antony's
 “ mult, Commotion and Disturbance which *Rome Apology*.
 “ was in immediately after the Dictator had been
 “ assassinated in the Middle of the Senate. The
 “ general Cry was, that the Common-wealth was
 “ restored, and the Senate seemed even disposed to
 “ decree a Reward to the Murderers, as to the
 “ Authors of Liberty. If this had been effected,
 “ *Cæsar's* Memory had been attainted like that
 “ of a Tyrant, and we should all have been invol-
 “ ved in the same Sentence. I was thoroughly sen-
 “ sible what would be the Consequence of such a
 “ Reward, and I alone stood it out against all the
 “ Conspirators, their Kindred, and their Friends,
 “ and, if I may venture to speak so boldly, against
 “ the whole Senate itself. But as their Adhe-

“ rents did no less foresee that if *Cæsar* was not
 “ declared an Usurper, the Conspirators ought to
 “ be punished, and that each Party was obstinate
 “ in defending their own Opinion; it was at last
 “ agreed, for the Safety of both Sides, instead of
 “ a Reward, to grant them a general Pardon. By
 “ this Means I secured *Cæsar*’s Memory; I pre-
 “ served the Glory of his Name entire; I saved
 “ his Estate and Goods from being forfeited; and
 “ prevented that Adoption from being cancelled,
 “ which now makes young *Cæsar* so daring. He
 “ enjoys the Fruits of my Cares; and if to get
 “ his Father’s Will confirmed, I have consented
 “ to a Pardon in Favour of the Conspirators, that
 “ does not argue that my Design was to secure
 “ their Lives. I only reprieved them; it was
 “ not my Fault, if they were not all tore to
 “ Pieces on the very Day of *Cæsar*’s Obsequies.
 “ I call to witness those who saw it, in what
 “ Manner, under Pretence of deploring *Cæsar*’s
 “ Fate, I raised the Fury of the People against
 “ his Murderers, and put them under a Necessity
 “ of stealing out of *Rome*. I no sooner heard
 “ that they were raising Forces, but, that I might
 “ not be taken unprovided, I got the Govern-
 “ ment of *Macedonia* decreed to me, which has
 “ made me Master of six Legions that were in
 “ that Province. I intend to make use of them
 “ for yours and my Safety; and it is to render us
 “ still securer, that I have besides obtained of the
 “ People, notwithstanding the Opposition of the
 “ Senate, the Government of *Gallia Cisalpina*,
 “ whence, by your Assistance, I hope to drive
 “ *Decimus Brutus*. Such has hitherto been my
 “ Conduct; and I am very unwilling to hide any
 “ of my most secret Designs from my Friends,
 “ and those who are to share the Glory of
 “ them, as well as the Performance. I even
 “ consent, that you communicate this to all
 “ that

“ that are in the same Interest: I only except
 “ *Cæsar*, whose Pride and Ingratitude I have al-
 “ ready too much experienced.”

This Speech of ANTONY, wherein it seemed as Antony if he had wholly unbosomed himself, satisfied his *and Au-* Officers in some Measure. Yet they required of *gustus re-* him, that he should be reconciled with young *conciled.* *Cæsar* again. He was forced to consent to an Interview, wherein, after mutual Complaints, Excuses and Embraces, they parted just as sincere Friends as they were before.

Cæsar was very willing that ANTONY, as his Father's Lieutenant and Creature, should help him to revenge his Death; but he would not put him at the Head of a Party, which, after the Defeat of the Conspirators, would be Master of the Republic: And ANTONY, at the Bottom, very indifferent about this Revenge, pretended to be in Earnest, with no other View than to make himself a Merit of it with the Soldiery. The Sovereign Power was the only Mark he aim'd at; whatever could obstruct that secret View, was equally odious to him; and he hated *Cæsar* no less than *Brutus* or *Cassius*, tho' he was forced to keep more Measures with the first, because of the Love which the People and those Officers and Soldiers bore him, that had served under his Father.

It was to make him lose that Affection, in Antony's which consisted his main Strength, that he caused *Deceitful-* several of his own Guards to be put under Arrest, *ness.* pretending they had suffered themselves to be corrupted by young *Cæsar* to make away with him. An Accusation of that Moment made a great Impression on the Minds of the People, and their open Enmity made it the more probable. Every Body was of Opinion, that it was a horrid Crime to attempt the Life of a Consul. Besides, the very Adherents and Friends of young *Cæsar* thought they had Occasion for a Commander of ANTONY's

Abilities to oppose *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and the other Chiefs of the Conspirators. *Cæsar*, enraged at those Reports spread against his Honour and Reputation, hastens into the City, shows himself in all the Streets, calls the People together, and remonstrates to them, that so black a Calumny had been invented only with Design to ruin him in their Opinions, and to make him lose their Goodwill. He calls the Gods to witness his Innocence, and loudly demands to be brought to his Trial. From thence he goes to ANTONY's own House, defying him to produce those that were accused, the Informers, and the Witnesses. But as Entrance was deny'd him, he made a Thousand Imprecations against ANTONY, whom he called a Cheat, and an Impostor. "I require no other Judges (said he) but your own Friends, if they can find but the least Glimpse of Truth in the base Charge against me, wherewith thou attemptest to blacken my Name."

App. 1. 3.
c. 9.

The People, according to Custom, judged of the Ground of this Accusation by what they saw outwardly. He that spoke with most Boldness and Vehemence, seemed guiltless to them. Some did even not scruple to say openly, that this Accusation was no more than a new Stratagem of ANTONY, to have a Pretence of encreasing his Guards. Some suspected both the Accuser and the Accused, of a secret Intelligence. They said, they had made this Rout with no other View, than that they might take up Arms without alarming those who might have feared they designed jointly to turn them against the public Liberty.

Antony
and Au-
gustus
both arm.

But their ensuing Conduct showed sufficiently, that each only sought the other's Destruction, and aspired to remain alone at the Head of that Party which was opposite to that of the Conspirators. They raised Forces both at the same Time. AN-

TONY

ANTONY ordered the four Legions which he had drawn from *Macedonia*, to march towards *Rome*, with which he designed to make himself Master of *Gallia Cisalpina*. He flattered himself, that *Lepidus*, who was in *Spain*, at the Head of four Legions; *Plancus*, who commanded three more in *Gallia Transalpina*; and *Asinus Pollio*, who had two at his Command, all three ancient Lieutenants of the Dictator, would declare for him. Young CÆSAR, fearing to be surprized and crushed by his Enemy, raised on his Part ten thousand Men in *Campania*, and got two of *Antony's* Legions, that of *Mars*, and the Fourth, to come over to his Side. But as he was invested neither with a Military Title, nor any Magistracy, which gave him Right to head an Army, especially against a Consul, he endeavoured to get the Senate on his Side. He succeeded therein by *Cicero's* Interest, who always opposed *Antony's* Pretensions and Party. *Cicero* was his Enemy for no other Reason, than that he believed him an Enemy of the Common-wealth. It is what he mentions himself, in that vehement Speech which he made against him in the Senate. ^{Second} That great Orator, that intrepid Defender of the ^{*Phillippic.*} Liberty of his Country, seeing *Antony* ready to invade *Gallia Cisalpina*, persuaded the Senate to send young CÆSAR's Troops against him. The ablest of that Body, who most of them were related to some of the Conspirators, approved a Counsel which would sow Division in the contrary Party; and they despaired not of advancing the Ruin of the Chiefs by their mutual Hatred.

Young CÆSAR was not ignorant of their Design. ^{Augustus} He was well apprized of the secret Correspondence ^{declared} the Senate kept up with the Conspirators: But as ^{*Pro Præ-*} in the present Circumstances, *Antony* seemed to him the most formidable Adversary, he resolved to dissemble with the Senate, to suspend his Hatred

against his Father's Assassins, and endeavour to rid himself of *Antony*, before he turned his Arms against them. It was from this Motive, and to dazzle the Senate's Eyes, of whom he would continue to feign himself the Minister, that he refused the Title of *Pro-Prator*, which his Soldiers were for conferring on him. And when his most intimate Friends, and those whom he consulted chiefly in the most secret and important Affairs, remonstrated to him, that his Army would scruple to obey a Citizen without any Dignity or Magistracy, "The Senate (said he to them in private) has just now declared for me; but this Declaration proceeds not so much from Friendship to Me, as their Fear of *Antony*. They seem sure of my Submission, and it is my Interest to give them no Cause to mistrust me. I refuse the Title of *Pro-Prator*, which the Army offers me, only to engage the Senate to confer it on me."

And indeed, the Senate was imposed on by that outward Modesty. They thought it became their Interest to amuse him likewise, and flattered themselves they should blind him with Honours and Marks of Distinction, which carried more Show than Power with them. By a public Decree, they conferred that very Title on him which he had lately refused; and, to bind him faster to their Interest, they ordered a Statue of Gold to be erected for him in the *Forum*. By the same Decree they gave him a Place in the Senate, and Leave to put up for Consul ten Years sooner than the Laws permitted. But through the Disguise of these signal Favours, it was not difficult for CÆSAR to perceive, that the Senate was only intent upon diverting him from minding his Father's Death, or disabling him to revenge it. *Antony*, on his Part, by Virtue of a Decree of the People, but against the Will of the Senate, had, as we have seen

Antony makes War against D. Brutus.

seen above, caused the Government of *Gallia Cisalpina* to be conferred on him, tho' *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Heads of the Conspiracy, had been invested with it by the Dictator, and confirmed in the Possession of it by the Senate, after the Dictator's Death. *Antony*, after having seized most of the Towns of that Province, now actually held *Decimus* besieged in *Modena*. The Senate, provoked at an Undertaking against their Orders, sent to acquaint him with a Decree, by which he was commanded to raise that Siege; to depart forthwith from *Gallia Cisalpina*; to march his Army back again over the *Rubicon*, a River that parted that Province from the rest of *Italy*; and on the Banks of that River, to wait for the Senate's farther Commands. All this he was ordered, under the Penalty of being declared an Enemy to his Country. It was *Cicero*, *Antony's* Enemy, who had formed that Decree. He could not have made the Senate speak more haughtily, nor with more Dignity, if the Strength of the Commonwealth had been proportionate to her Majestic Stile. But *Antony*, seeing himself at the Head of a great Body of Forces at the Gates of *Rome*, laughed at the Decree. He answered proudly, that since they would deprive him of a Government, which he had obtained from the Good-will of the People, he should find Means to render that Pardon useless, to which he had consented out of bare Complaisance to the Senate; and that he hoped in a little while to sacrifice *Decimus Brutus* to the *Manes* of Great *Cæsar*. Senate's Decree against Antony.

His answer was taken for a Declaration of War. The Senate, incens'd at his Rebellion, ordered *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, who were newly chosen Consuls, and young *Cæsar*, to join their Forces, and march to the Relief of *Decimus*. *Pansa* was D. Brutus at the Head of four Legions, but made up entirely Year of Rome, 371.

tirely of new Levies; and *Hirtius*, by a secret Order of the Senate, who were resolved to weaken *Cæsar's* Army, required him to return the Legion of *Mars*, and the Fourth, which had quitted *Antony's* Party.

Cæsar, to give Proof of his Deference for the Consul, surrendered those Troops to him instantly. Tho' those two Legions were come over to him from a Principle of Attachment to the Memory of his Father, he made as if he did not see thro' the Senate's Views; and having Occasion for their Assistance and Authority to get rid of *Antony*, he thought that to know how to lose upon a proper Occasion, was no Loss, but rather Gain. He afterwards joined the Remainder of his Forces to those of the Consuls; and the Son of the Dictator was seen to follow the Ensigns of his Enemies to the Relief of one of his Father's Assassins.

Antony
defeated;
the Death
of Pansa
and Hir-
tius.

Antony likewise advanced at the Head of his Forces. They soon came to a Battle: The Fight was long and obstinate; nothing but the Night put an End to it. The Loss was pretty equal on both Sides, if we except that of the Consul *Pansa*, who in the Heat of the Action, was mortally wounded. *Antony* marched his Army back into his Lines. *Hirtius* and *Cæsar* undertook a few Days after to force them; and as they were of great Extent, *Hirtius* found out a Place weaker guarded than the rest, which he carried Sword in Hand. He fell next upon the Camp. *Antony* set two Legions against him, which, after a long Resistance, were cut to Pieces; and the Consul would have defeated the whole Army, if he had not been killed whilst he was fighting with too much Ardour at the Head of his Legions. His Fall slackened their Courage, and *Cæsar*, who, by the Death of one Consul, and the Wound of the other, was left chief Commander of the whole Army, contented himself with preserving the Advantage

App. l. 3.
c. 15.

wantage he had gained. His Design was to cut off *Antony's* Provisions, and so starve him, or else force him to another Battle. *Antony*, weakened by these Losses, and fearing the Event of a third Battle, raised the Siege. As he was not in a Condition to keep the Field before a victorious Army, and superior to his own in Strength, he marched towards the Mountains, whence he took the Road to *Gallia Transalpina*, in hopes to get *Lepidus* to declare for him, and also *Plancus* and *Afinius Pollio*, who in those large Provinces commanded several Bodies of Men.

The Senate, overjoyed at *ANTONY's* Defeat, *The Senate* whom they now conceived to be utterly undone, *despise* sent Orders to their Generals to oppose his Passage, *Augustus*, and took but little Notice of *CÆSAR*, from whom they thought henceforth they should have nothing to fear. Without any Regard to his Dignity of *Pro-Prætor*, the Command of the Army was taken from him, and given to *Decimus Brutus*, with Orders to give *Antony* no Time to breathe, but to pursue him forthwith, and treat him like a public Enemy. This Conduct showed *CÆSAR* what he was to expect from most of the Senators: And *Pansa*, before he died, discovered to him the true *The Ad-* and secret Spring of all their Designs. That Con- *vice given* sul, being at the Point of Death, sent for young *Augustus* *by Pansa,* *being at* *the Point* *of Death.* *Augustus* to him; and when he was come to his Bed-side, spoke to him in this Manner: "I always loved your Father more than myself. Tho' some prudential Reasons, to which even You have submitted yourself, have retained me in the Party of the Senate, I never laid aside the Desire, nor the Hopes of revenging his Death. My own, just at Hand, deprives me of that Comfort; but before I expire, I will at least acquit myself, towards the Son, of what I was indebted to the Father. Know then, that you are not less hated nor suspected by the Senate"

"nate than even *Antony* your Adversary. They
 "hate you both equally. Nothing has pleased
 "them more than to see you fall out, and they
 "flatter themselves to make you both the Instru-
 "ments of each other's Ruin. If they declared
 "for You, it was only because they thought you
 "the weakest, and the Man they could the soon-
 "est overcome. My Design, far different from
 "that of the Senate, was to compel *Antony* by
 "Force of Arms to be reconciled with you, and
 "afterwards to join our Armies, and, in Con-
 "junction, pursue the Murderers of our common
 "Benefactor. It is the only Thing left for you to do.
 "Agree with *Antony*; you'll find him more pliable
 "since his Defeat. I return you your two Legions,
 "and I would as gladly surrender up to you the
 "rest of my Army; but they do not entirely de-
 "pend upon me. The Officers are most of them
 "the Spies of the Senate, that have secret Orders to
 "observe our Conduct." The Consul died pre-
 "sently after this. CÆSAR put himself at the Head
 of his Forces, to which he joined the *Legio Martia-*
lis, and likewise the Fourth Legion. *Torquatus*, by
 the Senate's Command, delivered the rest of the
 Army up to *Decimus Brutus*, who immediately
 marched in Pursuit of *Antony*, to draw him to a
 Battle; and he despaired not of overtaking him
 before he had reached the *Alps*.

August-
 us's subtle
 Manage-
 ment.

The Senate had made Choice of *Decimus* for no
 other Reason, than to have an Army entirely de-
 pendant upon their Orders. CÆSAR resented that
 Preference highly. He saw with Regret, that the
 Senate, by putting one of the Conspirators at the
 Head of the Common wealth's Forces, seemed to
 justify his Crime. This Affront inclined him to
 a Reconciliation with *Antony*, according to *Pan-*
sa's Advice; But as his own Interest was the sole
 Rule of his Conduct, and that he aspired no less
 to make himself the Heir of the Dictator's Power,
 than

than of his Name and Estate, he apprehended, that in joining with *Antony*, that General would pretend to be acknowledged the Head of the Party, and would make use of those very Forces that had so lately defeated him, to make himself Master of the Government.

Cæsar, in this Uncertainty, resolved to keep in equally with the Senate and *Antony*, and to delay declaring himself till he was sure which Party *Lepidus* and *Plancus* would take, and then he would chuse which Enemy to attack the first. That he might give a Guess at the Disposition of these different Parties, his Friends at *Rome* demanded in his Name, that he might be chosen Consul in the Room of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, deceased; and at the same Time he sent a great Number of Officers back to *Antony*, that had been taken Prisoners in the last Battle.

Decius, the oldest of those Officers, and *Antony's* intimate Friend, after having thanked him for his Liberty, asked him how he was inclined towards his General? *Cæsar* did not think fit at first to lay himself quite open, and answered him only, that *Antony* might easily judge of it by his Conduct. This was to oblige that General to make the first Overtures. But understanding that the Senate, far from decreeing him the Consulate, were only meditating how they should reduce him to a private Life, he saw clearly, that his Interest required he should immediately unite himself with *Antony*. He began to communicate his Mind to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, all old Officers of the Dictator, and with whom he had always maintained a secret Correspondence. He wrote to them, That the Senate, all made up of *Pompey's* Adherents, opposed his Rise, only because he was *Cæsar's* Son; that themselves ought not to expect a more favourable Treatment; that they studied only how to divide them, in order to crush them afterwards

afterwards more easily one after another; That this Conduct ought to shew them what should be theirs, and that he intreated them to unite firmly with him to maintain the Party of their late General. By the Way, he added some Complaints against *Antony*; but in so artful a Manner, that it was easily seen he was not averse to a Reconciliation. He gave a new Proof thereof, by letting *Ventidius*, a Lieutenant of *Antony*, escape, when he might easily have defeated him. That Officer having raised three Legions, was endeavouring to join his General's Army. *Cæsar* overtook and surprized him with superior Forces. He had surely been defeated, if *Cæsar* had fallen on him; but he contented himself with showing him, that his Destiny was in his Power. He gave him the Choice either to embrace his Party, or to continue his March; and *Ventidius* having told him he was not capable of relinquishing *Antony's* Interest, *Cæsar* giving him Leave to retreat, ordered him to tell him in his Name, that he acted directly contrary to their common Interest.

App. I. 3.
c. 18.

Antony crosses the Alps.

App. ibid.

Antony is prosecuted.

All this while *Antony*, pressed by *Decimus Brutus*, who commanded the Army of the Commonwealth, endeavoured to gain the *Alps*. He met in his Passage *Culeo*, a Lieutenant of *Lepidus*, who guarded the Passes: He must have perished with his whole Army in those Mountains, if *Culeo* had been faithful to his General. But he suffered himself to be bribed by *Antony*, who with a good Sum opened himself a Passage, and continued his March. *Decimus*, having drove him out of *Italy*, wrote to the Senate, that he had dispersed his Army, that *Antony* himself was hiding and sculking somewhere among the *Alps*, and he hoped that he would soon fall into his Hands. The Senate heard this with an uncommon Joy. The Senators of *Pompey's* Party cried out, That the Commonwealth had at last recovered its Liberty; and,

as if ANTONY had been actually taken, the Senate named ten Commissioners to try him. They talked of no less than repealing all the Laws which had flowed from his Authority since *Cæsar's* Death; and they even by Degrees aimed at including in this Repeal all the Ordinances of the Dictator, in order to re-settle the Common-wealth on its ancient Foundation.

ANTONY the while, after having passed the *Alps*, Antony was entered into *Gaul*. He immediately wrote to ^{courts} *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, to remind ^{Lepidus.} them of their ancient Friendship, and desire them to join with him against the Conspirators, and the other Enemies of *Cæsar's* Memory. *Lepidus*, who had got the Government of *Spain*, was still in *Gaul*. He was equally surpris'd, and puzzled, at ANTONY's Arrival. He was a Man more regarded for the Merit of his Ancestors, than his own Worth; of a narrow Mind; ambitious without Courage; enterprizing, and yet timorous at the same Time. He communicated the Reason of his Uneasiness to *Juventius Laterensis*, his particular Friend, to whom he showed ANTONY's Letters. *Juventius*, who was a zealous Republican, omitted nothing to dissuade him from joining ANTONY; but in order to conceal his Attachment for the Senate, he artfully stirr'd up his Ambition: He remonstrated, that having seven Legions at his Disposal, he was looked on as the most powerful General of the Common-wealth; and that he would always rule, which Side soever he chose: But that, if he joined ANTONY, he could not avoid submitting to the Authority of a haughty and violent Consul, who would scarce leave him the Rank of one of his Lieutenants in his own Army. The Jealousy about Command determin'd *Lepidus* to re-^{Lepidus}ject ANTONY's Proposals, though they were both ^{refuses} Friends and Creatures of the Dictator. He sent ^{Antony's} him word, that since the Senate had declared him ^{Proposals,}

an

an Enemy to his Country, he could not join his Forces to his, without drawing on himself a Decree of the same Nature: But he assured him at the same Time, that, whatever Orders he received from *Rome*, he would carefully avoid coming to any Engagement. *Asinius Pollio*, on the contrary, more steady, and ever faithful to the Dictator's Party, sent ANTONY word, he should always find him disposed to join with him to revenge the Death of their General. *Plancus*, ever doubtful and wavering, kept at the same Time a secret Intelligence with both Parties. He flattered ANTONY and *Decimus Brutus* by Turns, that he would join them; but he always deferred declaring himself, till he saw how Things went.

ANTONY, on his Part, saw his Ruin unavoidable, if the Senate's Authority should prevail with those unsettled Minds, and move them to act in Harmony with *Decimus Brutus* against him. During this Uneasiness, which showed him all the Danger without any Way to escape from it, he took a Resolution worthy of his Magnanimity, but which was perhaps also caused by the Extremity to which he saw himself reduced. He marched strait up to *Lepidus's* Army; he marked out his Camp just near his, but without fortifying it, as if they had been of the same Party and Interest. He sent immediately to him; bade him consider, that the Senate aimed only at destroying all *Cæsar's* Generals one after another, by obliging them to turn their Arms against each other: And, putting him in mind of their former Friendship, he conjured him by *Cæsar's* Memory, to contribute his Share in revenging the Death of that Great Man.

Velleius, The Affair was taken into Consideration, and
 l. 2. c. 63. a Treaty set on Foot; but whilst some Officers
 Lepidus were going backwards and forwards, *Lepidus's*
 betray'd Soldiers, who slighted him as much as they valued
 by his Soldiers. *Antony*, being besides secretly bribed by those of
 that

that Consul, received him by Night into their Camp, and owned him for their General. Some even offered to kill *Lepidus*, if he would command them to do it. *Juventius Laterensis*, who had so much dissuaded him from uniting with *Antony*, App. 1. 3; seeing his Friend abandoned and betrayed by his Soldiers, killed himself with his own Sword. Some Historians insinuate, that *Lepidus* threw himself at *Antony's* Feet, begging he would spare his Life. *Antony* did not misuse his good Fortune; he treated the unhappy *Lepidus* with a great deal of Humanity: He even left him the Title and outward Marks of Generalship, tho' he alone performed all the Functions of it. *Asinius* Antony's affairs re- *Pollio* came about the same Time to offer him his trieved. two Legions. *Munatius Plancus*, always governed by Events, did then openly declare against the Senate and *Decimus Brutus*: And *Ventidius*, whom young *Cæsar* had graciously suffered to make his Way to *Gaul*, joined *Antony* there with three more Legions: So that that General, who a little before was driven out of *Italy* by young *Cæsar* and *Brutus*, now found himself in a Con- Plut. in *Anton.* dition to return thither at the Head of seventeen Legions.

So surprizing a Change in *Antony's* Fortune, threw the Senate from an Excess of Confidence into the utmost Despondency. Upon the News *Decimus* sent them, that he had drove *Antony* into the Mountains, where, he said, he could not avoid perishing either for Want, or by the Arms of *Lepidus*, most Senators had believed that App. 1. 3. Party entirely ruined; and they thought to com- c. 18. D. pel young *Cæsar*, whom they no less suspected, H. 1. 46. to disband his Legions, under Pretence that the Republic had no farther Occasion for them, the War being ended. *Cæsar*, to ward this Blow, *Augustus* which would have left him naked and defence- puts up for the Consul- less, resolved to put up for Consul, with a View, late, that

that if he obtained that Dignity, he should have a Privilege to keep his Forces on Foot, and to command those of the Common-wealth; and that if the Senate should oppose him, such a Refusal would furnish him with a Pretence of remaining armed, to revenge himself of those that should have declared against him. It is said, that from that very Time he took Measures to be reconciled with *Antony*; but that he might not truckle to his Authority, he put up for the Consulate, that by Means of this Dignity he might be the Head of the Party which he should espouse. And as *Cicero* then bore a great Sway in the Senate, he intreated him by some common Friends to use his Interest, that they might both be chosen Consuls at the same Time. To persuade him to do it, he remonstrated, that he only desired the Title of that Dignity, of which he would leave him the whole Power; and that he wished to be his Colleague only to be his Disciple, and learn the Art of Government under so great a Master.

Cicero
speaks for
Augustus.

Cicero, mis-led by these Praises, of which he was very greedy, and relishing the Pleasure of governing *Cæsar*, declared in his Favour. He remonstrated to the Senate with his usual Eloquence, That he knew no surer Way to prevent *Cæsar's* Reconciliation with *Antony*, than to create him Consul: That as such, he could not avoid maintaining the Senate's Decrees against *Antony*; but as he was yet very young, he admonished the Conscript Fathers to appoint him such a Colleague, as by his Age and Prudence might be capable to have an Eye on his Conduct, and be a Sort of a Governor to him in the Management of Affairs. Several Senators, Friends or Kindred of the Conspirators, and who feared that young *Cæsar*, when arrived to the Consulate, would use his Authority to revenge the Death of the Dictator, rejected *Cicero's* Proposal with much Warmth. Some even laughed

App.
ibid.c.18.

laughed openly at his Vanity, and the indirect Manner in which he appointed himself to be chosen young *Cæsar's* Colleague. This Affair was warmly debated in the Senate. *Cæsar*, to strengthen his Party, caused his Army to advance near *Rome*. The Report of his March had a greater Effect than all the Eloquence of the *Roman* Orator. The Senators, frightened at his Approach, not only chose him Consul; but as he thought he had now no farther Occasion for *Cicero's* Credit, he caused *Augustus* *Quintus Pedius*, one of his Relations, and a Legate chosen of the Dictator, to be chose second Consul, to his Exclusion. Consul.

The first Step he made after he had taken Possession of the Consulate, was to get his Adoption confirmed in a general Assembly of the *Roman* People. This being determined, he caused those to be impeached by some of his Adherents, who had a Hand in *Cæsar's* Murder. Himself presided at the Trial; and he condemned all the Conspirators to lose their Lives for not appearing. But as *Brutus* and *Cassius*, their Chiefs, were at the Head of more than twenty Legions, he rightly judged it would not be easy for him to destroy so powerful a Party, as long as *Antony* should continue to oppose him. Therefore he resolved to be reconciled to him, under the specious Colour of joining their Forces to revenge his Father's Death. To make the Disposition of his Mind towards him known, he got *Quintus Pedius*, his Colleague and Creature, to insinuate to the Senate, That it was for the Advantage of the Common-wealth to recall *Antony*, and not to drive to the utmost Extremity a great Commander, who was no less to be dreaded than *Sylla* and *Marius* had been. The Nearness of his Army, encamped at the Gates of *Rome*, gave his Counsels the Weight of so many Laws: And though most Senators clearly saw, that he only designed to strengthen himself with the

*He tries the
Conspirators.*

*He gets
Antony
absolved.*

Help of *Antony* against the Defenders of the public Liberty, they were no longer in a Condition to act conformably to their good Inclinations. They were forced to yield to a Power, which followed no other Rule for its Conduct, than that of its private Intetest. The Senate solemnly repealed all the Decrees enacted against *Antony* and his Adherents; and *Cæsar* offered him to join their Forces, and march against *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

The Conspirators, being deserted, fly to Macedonia. *Antony* returned over the *Alps* into *Italy* with his seventeen Legions. *Decimus*, not finding himself in a Condition to oppose him, meditated a Retreat into *Macedonia*, where *Brutus* was. The greatest Part of his Army deserted him: Four Legions submitted to *Antony*, and others joined *Cæsar's* Army. *Decimus*, seeing so general a Desertion, endeavoured to save himself in the Mountains near *Aquileia*; but he was seized in the Defiles of those Mountains, and his Head was cut off by *Antony's* Command. Thus perished *Decimus Brutus*, the Confident and Favourite of *Julius Cæsar*. He had been General of his Horse. The Dictator had got him chosen Consul for the ensuing Year, and Governor of *Gallia Cisalpina*. The Civil-war broke out, as we have seen, on account of that very Government, which *Antony* disputed with him, under Pretence, that he ought not to retain an Employment, which he had received merely from the Bounty of a Man, whom he had stabbed himself for a Tyrant, and the Usurper of the Government.

Alliance between Augustus, Antony, and Lepidus. *Cæsar*, who wished nothing more than to be reconciled with *Antony*, sent to thank him for having put *Decimus* to Death, as a Victim to his Father's Ghost. This was the Motive or the Pretence of their Reconciliation. They were both equally inclined to it. *Antony* had lately experienced before *Modena*, what the Name of the Commonwealth was yet capable of doing: And as he now began

began to despair of making himself sole Master of the sovereign Power, he resolved to share it with young *Cæsar*. *Cæsar* on his Part feared, that if he deferred any longer to unite with *Antony*, that Party-Chief would at last join with the Conspirators, as he had actually sent to threaten him he would do, and that their united Forces would re-establish the Republican Government. So that Peace was easily struck up betwixt two Enemies, who found an equal Advantage in becoming Friends. Some of their common Friends made them consent to an Interview: The Conference App. l. 4, c. 1. was held in a little desert Island, which the River *Panaro* forms near *Modena*. Both Armies encamped upon its Banks; Bridges of Communication had been made from thence into the Island, upon which they had posted Guards. *Lepidus* was present at this Interview; and though he had nothing left but the Name and outward Appearance of a General, *Antony* and *Cæsar*, who were always upon the Watch against each other, were not sorry that a Third, from whom they had nothing to fear, should interpose in the Disputes which might arise betwixt them. *Lepidus* therefore entered the first into the Island, to view whether it was safe for them both to venture into it. Such was the unfortunate Condition of those ambitious Men, who, even in the midst of a Reconciliation, could not help mistrusting each other. *Lepidus* having made the Year of Rome, Signal that had been agreed on, the two Generals entered the Island each from the opposite Shore. 710.

They first embraced, and without entering into any Disquisition about Things passed, they advanced towards the Place of Conference, which was on the highest Ground, and whence they could equally be seen by their Guards, and even by both Armies. They Three sat down with Nobody else near them. *Cæsar*, as Consul, took the most honourable Post, and sat betwixt the other Two.

Trium-
virate.

They then debated what Form of Government they should settle in the Commonwealth, and by what Title they should share the Sovereign Power, and retain their Armies to support their Authority. The Conference lasted three Days; the Particulars of what passed there are not known: Only by what followed it appeared, that they had agreed, that *Cæsar* should abdicate the Consulate, and for the rest of that Year invest *Ventidius*, one of *Antony's* Lieutenants, therewith: but that *Lepidus*, *Cæsar*, and *Antony*, by the Title of *Triumviri*, should possess the Sovereign Power for five Years. They limited the Time of their Authority to that small Number of Years, to avoid declaring themselves too openly at first the Tyrants of their Country.

Plut.
Mant.

These *Triumviri* did next divide the Provinces betwixt them, and also the Legions and Treasures of the Common-wealth. And they went about this Division of the whole Empire, says *Plutarch*, as if it had been an hereditary Estate, or their Patrimony.

Antony retained *Gaul* for himself, except only that Province which joins the *Pyrenean* Mountains, which together with both *Spains* was yielded to *Lepidus*. *Cæsar* got for his Share *Africa*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the other Islands. *Asia* being in Possession of the Conspirators, was not shared at this Time: But the *Triumvirs* agreed, that *Cæsar* and *Antony* should forthwith join their Forces to drive them thence; that each of them should head twenty Legions; and that *Lepidus*, with three others, should stay in *Italy* and in *Rome*, to maintain their Authority there. His two Colleagues allotted him no Share in the War they were going to undertake, because they entertained no great Opinion either of his Capacity or Courage. It appears that *Cæsar* and *Antony* had taken him in for a Partner in the *Triumvirate* with the

the sole View of leaving with him, during their Absence, the supreme Authority as it were in Trust; because they were well assured, that they could at any Time easier rid themselves of him than of another General, if ever he broke his Faith with them, or became useless.

The Ambition of the *Triumvirs* was satisfied *Proscrip-* by this Partition. But as they had Occasion for *tion made* immense Sums to carry on the War, and that they *by the* left besides in *Rome*, and in the Senate, a great *Trium-* Number of concealed Enemies, and some Com-
mon-wealth-men yet zealous for Liberty; they resolved, before their Departure from *Italy*, to sacrifice to their own Safety, and proscribe the richest and most powerful Citizens. They drew up a List of them. Each *Triumvir* set down his particular Enemies, and even the Enemies of his Creatures. They carried on their cruel Temper so far, *Vell. Pat.* as each to give up their own Relations, and even *l. 2, c. 66,* some of their nearest Kindred. *Lepidus* sacrificed *67.* his Brother *Paulus* to his two Colleagues: *Antony*, on his Part, abandoned *Lucius Cæsar*, his Mo-
ther's own Brother, to *CÆSAR*'s Resentment: *Cæsar.* And the last suffered *Antony* to make away with *Cicero*, though that great Man had supported him with his Credit against this very *Antony*. In short, in this fatal List were seen *Thoranius*, Governor of young *CÆSAR*, the very Man who had taken such a particular Care of his Education. *Plotius*, Consul Elect, and Brother of *Plancus*, one of *Antony*'s Lieutenants, and *Quintus*, his Colleague in the Consulate, had the same Fate; tho' this latter was Father-in-law to *Asinus Pollio*, a warm Stickler for the *Triumvirate*. The most sacred Rights of Nature were violated; three hundred Senators, and more than two thousand Knights, were involved in this horrible Proscription. By this *App. l. 4,* profitable Revenge the *Triumvirate* grew rich, *c. 1,* *D. H. l.* and *47.*

*The Tri-
umvirate
attacks
Brutus
and
Cassius.*

and lessened the Number and Power of the Republicans. *Rome* was no more, or at least Liberty was banished thence; and the Commonwealth had a Being no where but in the Camp of the Conspirators. *Cæsar* and *Antony*, according to their concerted Plan, crossed over into *Macedonia* to go and attack them. The Forces were pretty equal in both Parties; and if *Cæsar* and *Antony's* Legions were more compleat, *Brutus* and *Cassius* on the other Hand were stronger in Cavalry. They had twenty Thousand Horse in their Army, when the *Triumvirs* could hardly muster thirteen Thousand in theirs.

*Battle of
Philippi.*

*Year of
Rome,
711.*

These two Armies were encamped near the Town of *Philippi*, situate upon the Borders of *Macedonia* and *Thrace*. There were at first various Skirmishes, wherein the Troops of the Conspirators had always the Advantage. At last came on the Lay, which was to decide the Fortune and Destiny of the Commonwealth. These great Bodies moved and marched against each other with equal Fury.

I shall not enter into the Particulars of a Battle which has been related by many Historians, because it is foreign to my Subject. This Battle decided the Fate of the Commonwealth. Liberty was buried in the Plains of *Philippi*, together with *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and the Chiefs of the Conspirators, and the last of the *Romans*. *Brutus* indeed defeated that Body where *Cæsar* was: But *Antony* got the better of that where *Cassius* commanded. *Cassius* fancying his Colleague had met with the same ill Success, obliged one of his Freedmen to kill him; and *Brutus*, having hazarded the Fate of Arms a second Time, lost the Battle and killed himself, that he might not fall alive into the Hands of his Enemies. The *Triumvirs*, by this Victory, settled their Empire on the

*Plut. in
Anton.*

the Ruins of the Common-wealth. Such great Augustus's
 Successes were owing not so much to CÆSAR's Valour, as to his Cunning and Management; hav- Views.
 ing found the way to make use of *Antony's* Sword;
 whilst for his Share, to carry on the common
 Cause, he contributed nothing but Schemes, the
 secret Springs whereof he even concealed from both
 his Colleagues. He was not ashamed, on the Eve
 before the Battle, under Pretence of I know not
 what Indisposition, to leave the Body he com-
 manded; and deserting his own Army, he hid
 himself among the Baggage, whilst the two Ar-
 mies were engaged. Perhaps he flattered him-
 self, that the usual Dangers of a Battle and *Antony's*
 Courage would free him from an ambitious
 Colleague; and that, without exposing his Person,
 he should alone reap the Fruits of the Victory.
 But don't we honour his Understanding too much
 in this Conjecture, when all this might easily
 proceed from his natural Fearfulness of Temper?
 What may incline us to believe, that on this
 Occasion he was only actuated by a lively and
 strong Impression of Fear, is that every body
 knows what Railleries he afterwards was forced to
 bear from *Antony*, who reproached him, that in
 a Sea-Fight against young *Pompey*, he never
 had the Courage to see the Engagement betwixt
 the two Fleets; but that, laid down in his Ship,
 with his Eyes lift up to Heaven like a Man in
 a Trance, he never showed himself to his Soldiers,
 till News was brought him that his Enemies were
 fled.

Augustus
 his
 cowardice.

What a prodigious and incoherent Mixture of
 opposite Qualities in the same Man! and espe-
 cially in a Man, that aspired to render himself
 Master of the whole World! In him we see an exalt-
 ed, bold, audacious Genius, capable of forming
 the greatest Designs, yet incapable of facing coolly
 the

the least Danger, and that showed no Courage but in Council, and where there was no need of venturing his Person in the Execution.

He was very early sensible, that Courage, a General's first Quality, was wanting in him: Yet though he was conscious of this Weakness in himself, it abated nothing of his Ambition. He contented himself with calling another Man's Valour to his Aid. He borrowed, as it were, *Agrippa's* Courage: He put himself at the Head of his Forces. But, always intent on the principal Object of his Undertaking, he chose for so important and nice an Employment, a mere Soldier of Fortune, and consequently one incapable of giving him any Umbrage, or making himself Head of a Party. Of the Wrecks of the Republic, there remained only young *Pompey*, who had seized on the Island of *Sicily*, whence he very much infested the Coasts of *Italy*. The Business was to force him out of a Retreat, which served besides for an *Ashylum* to Abundance of Persons proscribed, who might perhaps revive the Cause of Liberty: But *Augustus* had no Shipping. *Mecenas*, his first Minister, his Favourite, and the ablest Manager of a Treaty in those Days, cunningly obtained Ships from *Antony*, although it was so much that *Triumvir's* Interest to maintain young *Pompey* in that Island to serve him as a kind of Barrier against the Ambition of *Augustus*, which he had always so much Reason to dread. *Agrippa*, on the other Hand, equips a Fleet, goes in quest of the Enemy, beats *Pompey's* Lieutenants, defeats him in several Engagements, and at last drives him quite out of that Island. But being as modest, or rather as subtle, a Courtier as he was a Great General, he refuses the Honours of the Triumph, which the *Romans* used to decree to victorious Commanders: Convinced, said he,

War between
Augustus and
young
Pompey.

as *Dion* relates, that a good General ought to neglect nothing to bring his Prince's Designs to a good Issue; but that when he met with Success, he ought to refer all Glory to Him, as his Master and the principal Author of the Undertaking. *AUGUSTUS*, now victorious over the whole Republican Party, thought it Time to fall out with his Colleagues. He was resolved to reign alone; and, in order to it, to rid himself of his two Colleagues or Coheirs, whom Fortune had forced him to associate in this Inheritance of his Uncle's Power.

He attacked them one after another. *Lepidus's* *Lepidus* Ruin he purchased at the Expence of a few In-^{turned out}trigues. That *Triumvir*, little esteemed by his ^{of the Tri-}Soldiers, saw himself abandoned by them in his ^{umvirate.}very Camp. *AUGUSTUS* became Master of it by his cunning and secret Negotiations, in which he out-did all Mankind. Under various Pretences, he divested his Colleague of the Sovereign Power. That *Triumvir* was afterwards reduced to lead a private Life, and so unfortunate, that he became an Object of Compassion even to his greatest Enemies. *Antony*, adored by his Soldiers, Master of the best Part of *Asia* and all *Egypt*, and who had mighty Kings in his Party, and for his Allies, gave *AUGUSTUS* more Trouble; but his Ruin was occasioned by what should have been his chief ^{*Augustus*}Resource. That Great General, intoxicated with ^{wants to}a violent Passion for *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, ^{get rid of}and being Master of her Dominions, thought he should find therein as many Forces as he met with Charms in the Embraces of that Princess. That Excess of Security made him neglect the Care of *Rome* and *Italy*, the Centre of the Empire. *AUGUSTUS* took Advantage of it, and settled his Authority there. The Jealousy concerning the Administration, so natural betwixt Powers
equal

Year of
Rome,
723.

Augustus
entertains
thought of
making
himself
King.

equal in Dignity, often made them fall out. *Octavia*, *Antony's* Wife and *Cæsar's* Sister, and likewise their common Friends, at various Times, healed up their Breaches. But at last they took up Arms against each other: They came to a Battle; and a Naval Fight, near *Actium*, decided the Empire of the World betwixt those two celebrated Rivals. *Cæsar*, having gained the Victory, pursued *Antony* even into *Egypt*, and reduced him to kill himself. By his Death, and the forced Abdication of *Lepidus*, which happened six Years before the Battle of *Actium*, that Prince saw himself at last at the Height of his Wishes, sole Master, and sole Sovereign. It was not doubted, but he would build a new Monarchy on the Ruins of the ancient Commonwealth: But so great a Change made him very uneasy. The *Romans* Love of Liberty, and the Ides of *March*, were continually present to his Mind. *Julius Cæsar*, his Uncle, murdered in the Midst of the Senate, by those very Men, whom he thought the most devoted to his Person, made him fear there might arise another *Brutus*, and some desperate Republican, who, to restore Liberty to his Country, would murder him on his very Throne. The Passion of Fear, which was so natural to him, out-weigh'd in his Soul the Charms of a satiated Ambition; and in these Agitations, which allow'd him no Rest, he deliberated, whether he should declare himself the King of those who from the very Beginning of the *Triumvirate* he had made himself the Tyrant of. At last he held a private Consultation with *Agrippa* and *Mæcenæ*s, his two chief Ministers, and the principal Instruments of his Greatness; and he considered with them, whether he should restore the Commonwealth to its ancient State, or retain the Sovereign Power?

The

The Historian *Dion of Nicea*, in the 52d Book of his History, has preserved to us the different Opinions of those two Great Men. *Agrippa*, sensible only of that Sort of Glory which is acquired by great Actions, openly declared for a generous Abdication. He set before *Augustus*, all the Dangers that attended an Empire, insupportable to free People, and Men educated in a Common-wealth. The different Examples of *Sylla* and *Cesar* were not omitted; and he exhorted that Prince to show the Universe, by restoring Liberty to his Country, That the only Motive for his taking up Arms had been, to revenge his Father's Murder.

But *Mecenas*, without dwelling much on showing to *Augustus* the most shining Parts of a Crown, took him by his Foible, and remonstrated to him, That he had done too much to go back; That after so much Bloodshed, there could be no Safety for him any where but on the Throne; and that he would no sooner have divested himself of the Sovereign Power, but he would see himself attacked and pursued by the Children and Friends of so many illustrious proscribed Persons, whom the Misfortune of the Times had forced him to sacrifice to his Safety.

AUGUSTUS, without entirely embracing or *Augustus* wholly rejecting either Advice, took a third *Impera-* Course, which he thought the safest. He resolved, *tor.* according to *Mecenas's* Advice, still to retain the Sovereign Power, but without taking the Title of King, so odious in a Common-wealth. He rejected that of Perpetual Dictator for the same Reason, as having cost his Great Uncle his Life; and he contented himself with the common Title of *Imperator*, which the Soldiers, during the Times of the Republic, used to give to victorious Generals, and which he took only to familiarize the

Romans

Romans to a new and till then unknown Authority concealed under a known Title. He kept at the same Time all the Dignities and Offices of the State to himself. There were indeed still at *Rome*, during his Reign, Consuls, Prætors, Ædiles, and other Republican Magistrates: An Image of the ancient Government. These Magistrates did even perform all the Offices of those Dignities, though they all at the Bottom depended upon a Superior Power, which made them act according to its own private Ends and Interest.

AUGUSTUS, to reconcile and familiarize the *Romans* by Degrees to his Government, declared publickly, That he did not intend to keep the Sovereign Power in his Hands longer than ten Years, and that he would lay it down with pleasure, as soon as he should see Peace and Quietness restored to the State. Under different Pretences, he renewed this Declaration every ten Years; protesting that he had no other View in retaining that Power, besides Self-preservation, and the Fear of the Resentment of his Enemies. However, that he might give them as it were a Pledge, and a Foretaste of Liberty, he divided with the Senate the Governments of the Provinces: But in this Partition he allotted them only such as were in the Centre of the Empire, and could be governed without Armies or Garrisons. And to have a Pretence for keeping the Legions and Armies always under his own Command, he took upon himself the Care of those Frontier Provinces that were exposed to the Incursions of *Barbarians*.

The People, by his Care and Application, saw Plenty flourish anew. CÆSAR, now and then, amused them with Games and Shows, which, by Degrees, softened the too great Fierceness of

of

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of the *Roman* Temper. Thus did that Prince, by so artful a Conduct, insensibly accustom Men, free-born and of free Condition, to bear with Slavery, and made a new Monarchy supportable to ancient Common-wealths-men.

The End of the Fourteenth and Last Book.





A
T A B L E
O F
C O N T E N T S.

S H E W I N G

Not only PERSONS Names, but also
PLACES and THINGS; as likewise
WORDS, PHRASES, ACTIONS, and
SPEECHES.

N. B. *The first Number refers to the Book, the other
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